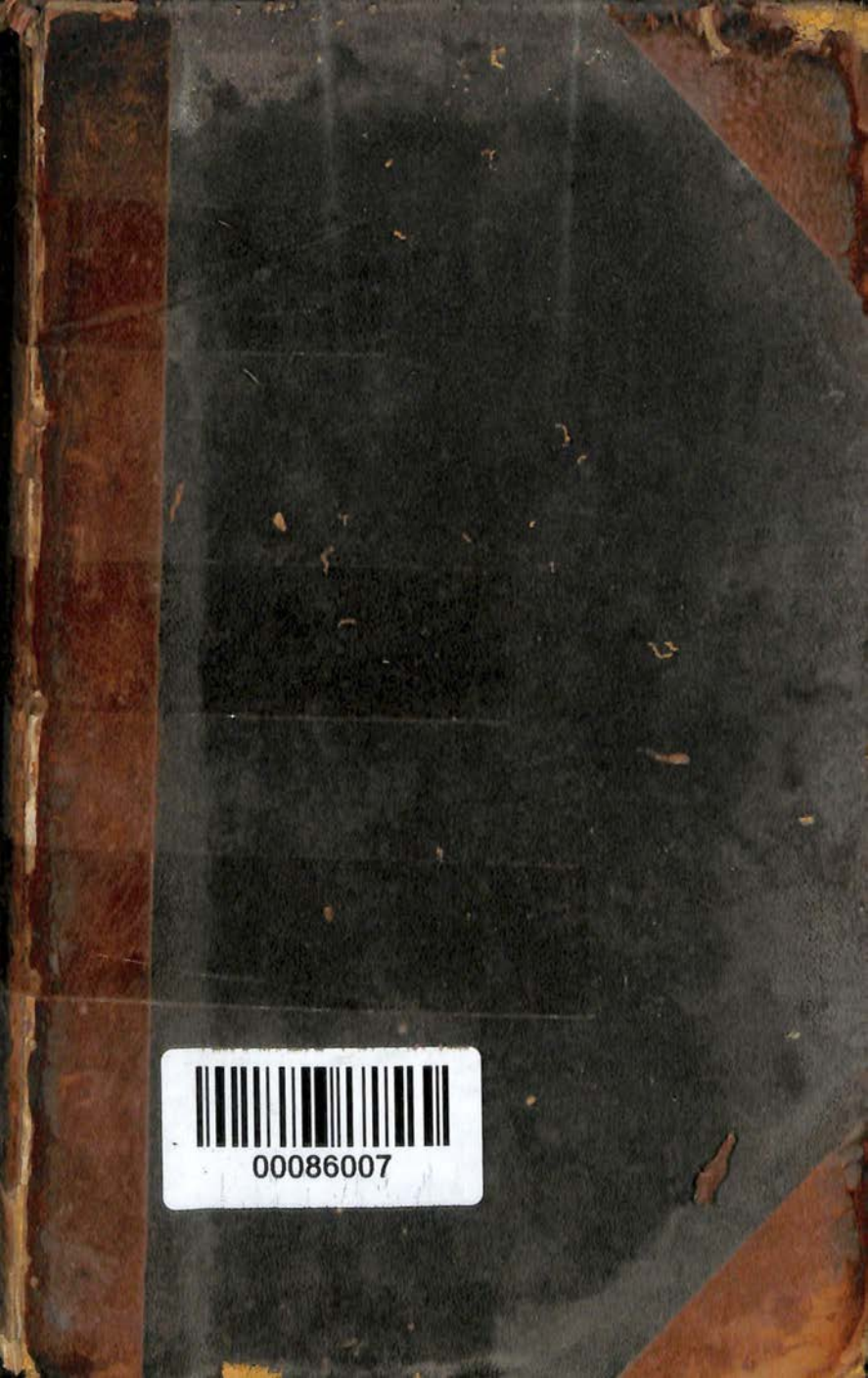
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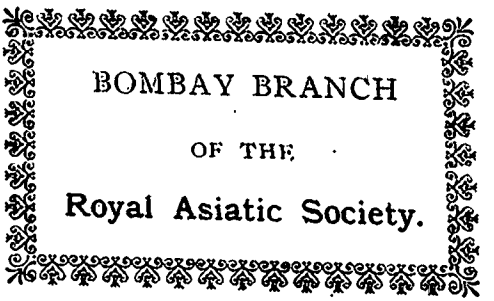

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LETTERS

WRITTEN DURING

A TEN YEARS' RESIDENCE

AT THE

COURT OF TRIPOLI;

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE FAMILY OF THE LATE

RICHARD TULLY, ESQ.

THE BRITISH CONSUL:

COMPRISING

Authentic Memoirs and Anecdotes

OF

THE REIGNING BASHAW,

HIS FAMILY, AND OTHER PERSONS OF DISTINCTION;

ALSO, AN ACCOUNT OF

THE DOMESTIC MANNERS

OF THE

MOORS, ARABS, AND TURKS.

2 C 0 7
a l

.....Mi gioverà narrare altrui
Le novità, edute, e dir, io fui.—*Gier. Liber.* xv. 16.

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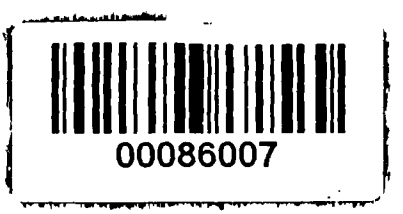

LETTERS

WRITTEN DURING A

RESIDENCE AT TRIPOLI.

January 18, 1789.

Two Royal Fezzanners left this place a few days ago: one was a Prince of Fezzan; and the other, a near relation married to a daughter of the King of Fezzan. They have paid us several visits, and were at three of our evening parties. Both of them were in complexion nearly black, with strong interesting features, and were well made and handsome in their persons: their dress resembled those of the Tripolitans, excepting the turbans. The Prince of Fezzan's turban, instead of being large and of white muslin like those of Tripoli, was composed of a black and gold shawl, wound tight several times round the head, and a long and curiously wrought shawl hung low over the left shoulder. His baracan was white, and

perfectly transparent; and his arms were handsome, with a profusion of gold and silver chains hanging from them. His manner and conversation were not less entertaining than curious. The ideas of the Prince of Fezzan correspond with those of the Abyssinians, who suppose that powerful evil spirits traverse the earth at night, succeeding in their operations against the peace of men, and waylaying their footsteps with plans of destruction; that they advance slowly over the world at sunset; and that when dark they make rapid progress over every part of it till daybreak; it is on this account, the Prince of Fezzan says, that the mischiefs of the night are so swift after dark, that it is impossible for any traveller to escape them, and on that account it is time saved to lay by till morning. He told us his country is the most fertile and beautiful in the world, having himself seen no part of the globe but Africa; and Fezzan* is esteemed amongst the richest of its kingdoms.

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* Fezzan is bounded on the north by Tripoli, on the east by deserts that divide it from Egypt, on the south by Bournou, and on the west by the deserts of Zahara, lying between 25 and 30 deg. N. lat. It is an extensive plain encompassed by mountains, except to the W.; and to the influence

In Fezzan there are still vestiges of magnificent buildings, and numbers of curious vaulted caves of an immense size, supposed to have been Roman granaries. But it requires a more enlightened mind than that of the Moor or Arab to discover their origin. These, with many other relics of ancient grandeur in Africa, remain unexplored, to reward the labours of future travellers. Mr. Tully and the celebrated Dr. Ruthman, among the remains of antiquity

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influence of these heights it may be owing, that here, as well as in Upper Egypt, no rain is ever known. The heat of the climate, from April to November, is so intense, that from nine in the morning till sunset, the streets are frequented by the labouring people only; and even in the houses respiration would be difficult, but for the expedient of wetting the rooms. From May till the end of August, when the wind is usually from the S. E. to the S. W, the heat is often such as to threaten suffocation, but if it change to the W. or N. W, a reviving refreshment immediately succeeds. Gold dust constitutes the chief medium of payment among the Fezzans; and value in that medium is always expressed by weight. In religion, they are rigid, but not intolerant Mahometans. The government is monarchical, but its powers are administered with such regard to the happiness of the people, the rights of property are so revered, the taxes so moderate, and justice is directed by such a firm, yet temperate hand, that the people are ardently attached to their sovereign.

Lucas's Travels in Africa. Le Sage, Atlas Historique.

frequently met with about Tripoli, saw near the Friday bazar, out of town, a flat stone with inscriptions, which shewed it was placed there by Cassia, a Roman lady, in honour of her father, but the date could not be made out, being totally effaced.

The Prince of Fezzan says, that in his country it never rains; but that innumerable soft springs serve to moisten the earth, and keep the country in the state of a beautiful well watered garden. The fruits produced there are remarkably fine, and the Fezzan dates surpass in richness all others in Africa: of them they make the famous date cakes, as I have mentioned to you.

The Prince of Fezzan, in return for some new scissars, razors, and a small looking-glass, with which he is much pleased, proposes to send us some of the best date cakes his subjects can make. This Prince is extremely cheerful in conversation; his ideas are wonderfully quick; and he bears an excellent character among his people. One evening, placing himself on a sofa, and musing on the novelty he saw at a Christian assembly to which he was invited, he expressed the highest satis-

faction at hearing a select concert of music, performed by a number of ladies and gentlemen. But on seeing afterwards the company dance, he viewed with a great degree of jealousy the liberties, as he was pleased to term them, taken with the ladies in dancing, by the gentlemen being permitted so often to touch their hands. He was so much astonished on this occasion, that it was not easy to persuade him that all the graceful attitudes he saw were only for effect.

This prince confirmed what we have heard before, that human sacrifices are still practised in parts of Africa. To the south of Abyssinia they sacrifice to evil spirits the slaves they cannot sell; nor were those parts, he said, free from cannibals.

To evince the truth of this too dreadful account, a black Eunuch we often see unavoidably, and who is now living at the ambassador Abderrahman's house, is known to have been addicted to this savage propensity, and was with difficulty prevented but a short time since from giving proof of his cannibal disposition.

Notwithstanding the grandfather of the Prince

of Fezzan was brought in chains to Tripoli by the grandfather of the present Bashaw, Hamet the Great, and that the King of Fezzan remains yet tributary to the present Bashaw, the two courts are much attached to each other, and the Bashaw has shewn this Prince extraordinary civilities.

March 18, 1789.

The Bey went out lately with a large force against the Arabs; and no news has yet arrived from him. We were invited to the castle to see him depart: as soon as we got there, the Chiah received us, and sent some of his slaves to clear the place he had allotted for us, which was within one of the round towers of the castle, to which many spectators had crowded. A great number of the Bey's attendants were waiting for him already ranged in the castle-yard in the order they were to march. The part of the procession formed, was preceded by officers on horseback, bearing green silk flags of Mecca, and accompanying a chaoux who was richly mounted, supporting one tail, which is always carried before the Bey: his father goes with three, being a Bashaw of three tails, and the only sovereign in Barbary who enjoys

this degree of honour. The Bey's chief officers of state, richly dressed and mounted on beautiful horses, with different groupes of his courtiers, mamelukes, chaouxes, black slaves, and hampers or guards, made up a numerous and brilliant cortege. The quantity of costly ornaments with which the horses were adorned, added greatly to their beauty and to the grandeur of the sight.

During the interval of waiting for the Bey, we were entertained by seeing Sidy Hamet and Sidy Useph with their parties racing on the Pianura, and performing all the manœuvres used by the Moors in war. Their song, or rather cries of war, being so very near us, sounded dreadfully, resembling the description of the war-whoop of the Indians.

After his attendants had waited for him about two hours, the Bey came out of the castle, habited in a loose dress of blue and gold tissue, over a pale yellow caftan, embroidered with gold and silver. His belt was studded with jewels, and his turban was crossed over with gold drapery, leaving long ends pendant from it. He had a very large jewel claw in his turban, which had been newly set, and looked

extremely beautiful, with a new gold crescent considerably larger than that he usually wears.

We never saw the Bey better received by the Moors. Their acclamations were loud and incessant for some time; and the Bey, whose figure is always interesting, looked particularly handsome and majestic. He mounted a spirited black horse. The animal seemed to vie with its master in the richness of its appearance; and was adorned with no less than four magnificent velvet housings. The broad black chest of the horse displayed to advantage eight solid gold drop necklaces which reached to his legs; the saddle was chased gold, the front of it set with jewels; and the stirrups were very large, and looked like burnished gold. His whole appearance was uncommonly brilliant.

As soon as the Bey was mounted, the horsemen with the Mecca flags, and the tail carried by an officer on horseback, moved on, followed by the chief of the chaouxes. The front of the chaoux's dress was covered with a plate of silver armour, and his turban was white with a gold claw: he was followed by the corps under his command, who were dressed uniformly in scarlet cloth, with stiff white caps the shape

of a cornucopia inverted. Only the chief was on horseback, the rest were on foot. Close after the chaouxes* followed the nubar, or royal band, which, as I have said, only plays before the Bashaw and the Bey. The band was followed by many of the chief officers of state; and after them were three richly caparisoned horses led by blacks. The first in rank of the officers of state then preceded the Bey; and his body guard of hampers and Mamelukes followed him with the Tripolitan colours flying. The Bey's baggage was carried immediately after the colours, and made a singular appearance. It was in square flat boxes covered with Turkey carpets and placed on the backs of horses, each horse led by a slave. The troops followed, headed by their different Agas.

The greatest number of the Arabs and Moors who accompany the Bey on this expedition, wait to join him where his camp is pitched,

* There are a number of subordinate officers indiscriminately called chaouxes: these are persons of approved fidelity, and not only execute all the internal edicts of the Bashaw, but perform the office of couriers in and out of the regency.

Blaquiere's Letters, vol. ii. p. 89.

eight hours' journey from this place, and where he gives a grand audience to the Arab chiefs, being seated on a superb throne erected for the purpose in his tent. It is said he will depart with near a thousand Arabs this year. They will be composed of a tribe called the Benoleeds, and Shaik Alieff's people.

The Bey is sent by the Bashaw, with his brothers, against Saffanassa, who, taking advantage of the present dissentions at the castle, distresses the Bashaw, by keeping back the tributes which should be paid by the Arabs under him.

The coolness at present subsisting between the Bey and his brothers, is the reason the two youngest princes omitted returning from the Pianura (which it was their duty to do), to join the Bey and his train before he quitted the castle. This want of attention was so striking to every body that the Bey's people murmured much at this disrespect shewn him by the princes; but the Bey, with his usual policy, or forbearance, did not appear to notice it. Many of the Bey's friends tremble for his safety; and the Bashaw is said to be distrustful of all his sons.

March 20, 1789.

Yesterday morning Hadgi Abderrahman breakfasted with us, and staid several hours. The Shaik, or governor of the town, and Hadgi Useph dined with us; and this morning we visited Lilla Uducia, the Bashaw's eldest daughter, on account of the birth of her son, and afterwards passed two or three hours with Lilla Halluma and the princesses at the castle; so that the last two days have been wholly devoted to Moorish company.

Hadgi Abderrahman's account from the Bey's camp were very bad; the Bey has been obliged to advance much further into the country than he intended, for want of forage, the Arabs belonging to Saffanassa* having burnt every thing near the spot where he had determined to encamp. The three princes do not act in concert; Sidy Useph's manners are so violent with the Arabs, and he commits such depredations, that he endangers the life of the Bey, whom the Arabs

* The name of Shaik Saffanassa, an Arab chief on the mountains of Garian, will be long remembered in Tripoli for the successful opposition he made to the Bashaw for a long series of years.

Blaquiere's Letters, vol. ii, p. 85.

consider responsible for the injuries committed by his brothers.

There is no prospect of peace between the Bey and the Arabs at present. The Bey's army, and that of Saffanassa, have now attained within a few hour's, or a short day's journey of each other. The Ambassador had with him a letter from the Caid, or governor of Messurata, which brings the fortunate news of the Bey having formed an alliance with another tribe of Arabs, who are esteemed the most numerous of any in the deserts. This circumstance, it is hoped, may turn the scale in his favour. Shaik Alieff, the Arab chief, whose person I described to you in a former letter, was at that time supposed entirely in the Bashaw's interest, and being one of those chiefs who are considered masters of the deserts, every thing was hoped from his assistance. This Arab, however, a few days ago, very nearly betrayed the Bey into the hands of his enemies, by the following stratagem. He advised the Bey, as the cattle were in want of food, to send the greatest part of the troops belonging to both of them out to forage, before the enemy could have time to advance towards them. The Bey, some hours after the departure of his people, took his observations as usual

with his glasses over the sands, and perceived the enemy rapidly advancing towards him: he asked Shaik Alieff what he would advise him to do in this situation? Shaik Alieff replied, much unconcerned, that he must remain where he was, for that nothing else could be done, and he would only risk more by moving. By this time, the Bey was informed, that Shaik Alieff had sent secret intelligence to Saffanassa's camp, that the greatest part of the Bey's people and his own were gone to forage, and that this would be a proper moment to attack him. The Bey, to avoid falling by the treachery of Shaik Alieff, instead of taking his advice, ordered his drum to be beat to recall his people instantly from foraging; and Shaik Alieff, who expected to be cut to pieces on the return of the Bey's people, fled to Saffanassa's camp. A skirmish soon after ensued between the Bey's troops and Saffanassa's, in which the former had the advantage, and eighty heads of the slain are on their way to this place. They are expected to be brought in to-morrow, and to be placed as usual on the gates and walls of the town. Horrid as this custom is here, at Algiers and Tunis it is more dreadful, as in those places they throw them on the ground. Here a Christian may pass the disgusting spectacle without lifting

his eyes to behold it, but there he cannot avoid the horror of the sight.

Since the advantage gained by the Bey over the Arabs, he had nearly concluded a peace with Saffanassa; but owing to an article the Bey insisted on, hostilities have recommenced. The Bey proposed that the Arabs should allow him to build a castle on a part of the sands where one formerly stood, built by Mohamet, the present Bashaw's father; but to this proposal neither Saffanassa, nor even the Benoleeds, who were with him, would agree.

The Bey's camp is so much in want of provisions, particularly water, that his people and cattle die daily. During a dreadful extremity, when for want of water the heat threatened universal destruction to the Bey's troops, he ordered some of his camels to be killed for the sake of the water contained in their bodies, which, amounting to many gallons in each, was dealt out in scanty portions to the people, who were dying with thirst. This expedient saved numbers from death.

We hope a few days will produce more favourable news from the camp. We hear

every day of offerings made at the prophet's shrine at the marabuts, by the Bey's friends, where neither lambs, nor prayers, nor presents, are spared to procure the Bey's success.

His mother and wife suffer extremely from his absence: Lilla Halluma and this princess have almost excluded themselves from the rest of the family, and very few of those who have been at the castle since the Bey's departure with the camp, have been admitted to see them.

After Hadgi Abderrahman had given us the news of the camp, he passed the rest of the morning in giving to us some curious descriptions of the caravans, and a long account of a pilgrimage he had made with his family to Mecca. The caravan with which Abderrahman travelled was in great part made up of his own suite, and numbers of both rich and poor belonging to the caravan of Morocco, joined the ambassador in order to profit by his protection. The pilgrims encamped at that time in the Pianura of Tripoli, accelerated their business to join the caravan of the ambassador's family. Notwithstanding they departed from Tripoli in a favourable part of the year, the difficulties of the deserts proved so great, that

Hadgi Abderrahman expected the loss of the greatest part of his family.

The ladies went in carriages inclosed with awnings, and placed on the backs of camels, whence, when the caravan halted, they were in general conveyed into tents, where carpets and every convenience awaited them ; but in many parts of the deserts these conveniences could not be used, as their preparing them required more time than was prudent for the caravan to stop, on account of the wandering hordes.

When this caravan arrived at Grand Cairo, it amounted to upwards of a thousand camels and three or four thousand people. Cairo is a most extensive mart, and is always so crowded, that passengers with great difficulty pass along the streets.

From this vast emporium, merchandise is conveyed through the Mediterranean into Europe and Turkey. Its produce is sent by caravans into the interior of Africa, to Abyssinia, Fezzan, Morocco, and Guinea, and immense riches are transported over the Red Sea into all parts of Asia, Arabia, China, India, Persia, and other places.

From Abyssinia the caravans carry yearly to Cairo nearly two thousand negroes; these poor creatures having unfortunately been captured in war. Most of the chiefs and sovereigns in the interior of Africa sell or put to death all their prisoners. This caravan also carries with it to Cairo, slaves, antelopes, parrots, and monkeys, and sometimes wild beasts peculiar to Africa. Among the valuable articles it takes, is the best gold in dust and bars, ostrich feathers, myrrh, and ebony. The gold in dust is procured from Abyssinia, tied up in small pieces of cloth, the shape and size of a large nut. Each parcel is worth a Venetian sequin, or ten shillings and sixpence, and passes current till the cloth is worn out without having once been opened. The ebony, which is brought from a high mountain near Abyssinia, is said to be the best in the world: it takes a much higher polish than either the black, green, or red ebony, brought from India.

One of the largest caravans which travels through Africa, sets out from Fez and passes along the borders of the Atlantic Ocean, not leaving the coast till it can cross Africa, at the narrowest part, to the kingdom of Sanaar, through which it proceeds to the banks of the

Red Sea. Another considerable caravan sets out from Morocco, increasing in its numbers of hadgees and travellers, while coasting the whole of the Mediterranean from Morocco towards Egypt, particularly from Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. This caravan encamps for several weeks under the walls round the town of Tripoli, and afterwards sets out from thence over the deserts of Alexandria. The pilgrims belonging to it range themselves under tents of all sizes and colours in the sandy plain adjoining the gates, which appear at a small distance like a little town of variegated colours. They receive from the inhabitants of Tripoli what supplies they want, for which they seldom return money, but pay for them with the articles they bring with them, particularly ostrich feathers and Morocco leather.

With one of these caravans the ambassador (Hadgi Abderrahman) and his family went hence to Mecca. They set out for Grand Cairo, where they joined the caravan of Egypt; but were detained for three or four weeks, notwithstanding the finest weather imaginable, on account of unlucky days and frightful omens, which were said to have happened from time to time. These delays are sometimes very

serious to those pilgrims who go expressly to visit the holy places, as the Beit-Allah,* at Mecca, which is the principal object of their worship, is only open two days in every six weeks, one for the women and another for the men; consequently such delays often occasion the Mahomedans to be three months longer on their pilgrimage.

The road from Cairo to Suez, though not sixty miles, is among the worst parts of the journey from Tripoli to Mecca, not excepting the deserts to Alexandria. Many of the pilgrims are then obliged to continue their route by the Red Sea, not being able to carry with them the provisions wanted for the rest of their pilgrimage to Mecca; for Suez, surrounded with sands and destitute of a drop of water

* The temple of Mecca stands in the midst of the city, and is honoured with the title of *Masjad al Alharem*, i. e. the sacred or inviolable temple. What is particularly reverenced in this place, and gives sanctity to the whole, is a square stone building, called the *Caaba*, as some fancy from its height, which surpasses all the other buildings in Mecca, but more probably from its quadrangular form, and *Beit Allah*, i. e. the House of God, being peculiarly hallowed and set apart for his worship.

Sale's Koran, Preliminary Discourse, p. 114.

for its own consumption, can furnish nothing to travellers. The inhabitants of Suez are obliged to travel six or seven hours for all the water they use: they go for it to the Arabian shores, and get it from Nuba, on the borders of the Red Sea; and this, which is the nearest water they can procure, is so bitter, that no European can drink it, without being mixed with spirit. It was, therefore, indispensably necessary for Hadgi Abderrahman to provide himself with pulse, meat, wood, and water, for the rest of his long journey, near seven hundred miles, the greatest part through the deserts of Arabia; and this circumstance, while it increased the numerous animals of burden in the caravan, obliged the poorer pilgrims, who had no beasts of burden, to proceed by sea.

A pilgrimage by a man of distinction is made at a very heavy expense, as those persons he permits to join his suite almost wholly depend on him for their subsistence.

Nothing can be more curious than the appearance of the caravans when they set out from Grand Cairo, as they are by that time composed of crowds from all nations, as dif-

ferent in their dress as in their complexions. They carry with them besides gold dust, Venetian sequins, silver piastres, corn, wheat, beans, iron, lead and cochineal, to Mecca, Mocha, and other places, and return through Tripoli, with muslins, ostrich feathers, shawls, Arabian coffee, pearls, diamonds from Golconda, silk, cottons, and a sort of paste-preserve, made of roses, apricots and peaches, which is very excellent but expensive. We have never seen desserts at the castle without this paste; yet very few people here can purchase it.

Amongst the merchandize brought back by these caravans to Egypt from Arabia, are the beautiful slaves sold at Cairo. These females are brought only from Christian countries, Georgia, Circassia, Armenia, and others; for no Mahometan, male or female, can be made a slave. Volney observes, it is a very singular circumstance, that Georgia, whence the fairest women are now brought, was anciently peopled with black inhabitants from Egypt, though now that country is so remarkable for the whiteness of its inhabitants.*

* Professor Blumenbach, however, has shown from the osseous heads of mummies, &c. that some portion at least

When the caravans set out from Cairo, they complete their pilgrimage to Mecca and return in one hundred days. Sometimes very good bargains are to be bought here from the hadgees of the caravans, particularly diamonds and pearls. Of the latter they bring to Tripoli large bunches, and permit purchasers to select out of different bunches the largest and most perfect pearls, at a price much under the value they are sold for in Europe.

The only European traders at Suez now are Venetian merchants, who have been established there a long time: they send to Venice salt, stuffs, silks, &c. There were formerly English and French merchants there; but the caravan coming from Suez to Cairo in 1779 being cut off, put a stop to the trade of the English merchants, not one of whom has been seen in either of those places since. The plundering of this caravan has been much talked of on account of Monsieur de Saint Germain of the Isle of Bourbon. The caravan was composed chiefly of English officers and passengers, with some French prisoners, who disembarked from

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of the ancient Egyptians possessed the European or Caucasian countenance.

on board two vessels at Suez on their way to Europe through Cairo. The Arabian Bedouins of Tor being informed that these people were possessed of great treasures, determined to rob them, which they effected about five leagues distance from Suez. The unfortunate Europeans, left entirely naked and dispersed by fear, separated into two companies. One party returned to Suez; and the other, to the number of seventeen, thinking they should be able to reach Cairo, struck into the desert,* where from fatigue, want of water and hunger under the scorching rays of the sun, they perished, one after the other; excepting one solitary object, Monsieur de St. Germain.* During three

* The Bedouins fell unexpectedly upon them without giving them time to put themselves on the defensive, seized their property, and killed many of them. M. de St. Germain had the misfortune to lose a beloved brother, and two-thirds of his fortune, in this fatal rencontre. After wandering three days and nights in that barren wilderness, naked, without food, without water, and almost without hope, he arrived half dead at the hut of an Arab, who washed him with fresh water, fed him with milk, cloathed and conducted him to Grand Cairo. I had this relation from his own mouth: he is now on his return to France, where probably his misfortune will interest and excite the compassion of government.

Savary's Letters from Egypt, vol. ii. p. 96.

nights and two days, this unfortunate man wandered about the deserts naked and thirsty, frozen with the north wind at night (it being January) and burnt with the sun during the day. In despair, he laid himself down on the sands, and would have perished had not the compassion of a Moor saved him. This man at a distance saw him fall, hastened to him, and having learnt his deplorable situation took him with him to his own cottage. Under his roof Monsieur de Saint Germain was preserved, and allowed to shelter himself for a length of time till he could obtain an escort to convey him to Cairo.

At Suez, a project was formed to unite the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, by a canal attempted to be made under Sesostris,* King of Egypt, and by that means save the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope to India. The isthmus of Suez being above one hundred miles

* The ancients considered the Red Sea to be higher than the Mediterranean, and, in fact, if we observe that, from the canal of Kolsoum to the sea, the Nile has a declivity, for the space of thirty leagues, this idea will not appear so ridiculous: besides that, to me it appears probable, the level will be found at the Cape of Good Hope.

Volney's Travels in Egypt, vol. i. p. 146.

across, such an undertaking must therefore have been very difficult, and had the canal been of permanent construction and been carefully maintained, it would have totally altered the face of Barbary, by affording a constant communication with those parts of Europe which would gladly have profited by this short cut to the riches of the east. By this means, the hidden treasures of Africa would have been easily explored, nations yet unknown would have been civilized, and the dark Ethiopian and the European would have long ceased to gaze with wonder at each other.

As an opportunity offers to send you this letter, I must reserve the remainder of the anecdotes, gleaned from Hadgi Abderrahman's accounts of his pilgrimage, for my next.

March 30, 1789.

As I have no news to relate to you of this place at present, I shall resume the account of the caravans. The Pacha of Tripoli in Syria ought to conduct the sacred* caravan

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* The caravan of Mecca bears exclusively the name of *Hadj*, which signifies, pilgrimage; the others are called simply, *Kasle*.

Volney's Travels in Egypt, vol. ii. p. 159.

himself from thence through the deserts to Mecca, for which conduct, and the furnishing it with corn, rice, and other provisions, he holds his station from the Porte. The former duty he never performs, and the latter very badly.

To supply the dreadful want of water and save the traveller from expiring through thirst, there are in a part of the Deserts of Arabia, about four days' journey to the north of Suez, several ancient aqueducts and many subterranean canals, which have been formed at an immense expense by the Assyrians, Persians, and Medes, who made it a part of their religion to conduct the water into the deserts; but these canals and aqueducts are nearly rendered useless through neglect.*

The Governor of Jerusalem† also draws immense sums from the absurdities of the Chris-

* By others these are said to be portions of the canals which at various times and places have united the Red Sea and the Nile.

† The Mahometans, as well as Christians, call Jerusalem the Holy City, and hold it in great veneration; pretending that Mahomet was miraculously transported thither when he prayed with the company of the Prophets.

"Praise

tians, on account of the pilgrimage to the Holy City. The different communities of Greeks, Catholics, Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, and Franks, are equally jealous about the possession of the sanctified places. There is a continual strife amongst the different convents and amongst the adherents of each community. The Turks, to whom these disputes are very profitable, never endeavour to lessen the source of them; but, on the contrary, promote them as much as possible. Each pilgrim going to Mecca pays an entry at Jerusalem of ten piastres, about forty shillings: he then pays for an escort to perform the voyage to Jordan. Every convent pays the Governor of Jerusalem for the right of conducting a procession.

The Catholics send about three hundred chests of chaplets, relics, crosses, sanctuaries, crucifixes, scapularies, &c. from Jerusalem every year, on which the duties to the governor are

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"Praise be to God, who, in the night, carried his servant "from the temple of Mecca to the Temple of Jerusalem: "the walls of which are blessed, that marks of our power "might there remain."

Savary's Letters on Egypt, vol. ii. p. 154. *Sale's Koran*, chap. 17.

immense. The greatest part of the Christian families and Mahomedans of Jerusalem get their living by making the above articles: men, women, and children, sit in crowds round their doors, all employed in sculpture, or in turning wood, coral, and ivory, embroidering rich stuffs, in silk and pearls, with gold and silver thread. The convent of the Holy Land sends every year relics and other articles out of the country, to the amount of five hundred thousand piastres (about a hundred thousand pounds sterling); and the relics from the convents of the Greeks, Armenians, and Copts, amount to a still larger sum. These objects exported into Turkey, Italy, Portugal, France, and Spain, occasion the return of alms or payments, to a considerable amount, to the religious communities at Jerusalem.

The visits of the pilgrims are not a less important object to these convents. It is known that from ancient times the curiosity of visiting holy places brought Christians from all parts of the world to Jerusalem. For a long time the Popes made it an act necessary to salvation, and the fervour with which this agitated all Europe, produced the crusades. Since that epoch, which occasioned so much bloodshed,

the number* of pilgrims has considerably diminished. They are reduced now to some monks from Italy, Spain, and Germany. But it is different with the Orientals, they continue to regard the voyage to Jerusalem as one of the most meritorious acts. They even consider themselves scandalised by those Franks or Christians who come to the East, and do not follow their example, and stigmatize them with the name of heretics or infidels, for not fulfilling this part of their religion. To those who do, the Turks will not give the insulting epithet of Kielb, or dog, so commonly applied to Christians by them.

The Greeks, more than other nations, believe this pilgrimage to be productive of the greatest indulgences; they suppose it absolves them, not only for the past, but for the future, for not

* We must then, in the first place, reduce this great number of pilgrims, at least as far as regards the Catholics, to a very small matter, or to nothing at all; for seven, twelve, twenty, thirty, nay, even a hundred pilgrims, are not worth mentioning. But if this dozen of pilgrims, who for the last century or two have visited the Holy Sepulchre, were poor travellers, the fathers of the Holy Land could scarcely enrich themselves with what they left behind.

Chateaubriand's Travels in Palestine, vol ii. p. 140.

observing feasts or fasts, and, indeed, for every crime. From these ideas, a prodigious number of pilgrims of both sexes and of all ages, go from the Morea, from the Archipelago, from Constantinople, Anatolia, Armenia, Egypt, and Syria, every year. In 1784, the number of pilgrims amounted to five thousand.

The most simple pilgrimage* costs four thousand livres, or near two hundred pounds, and they often amount to fifty or sixty thousand livres, or from three to four thousand pounds sterling. Jaffa, which is about forty-six miles from Jerusalem, is the place where the pilgrims disembark. They arrive there in November, and go thence directly to Jerusalem, where they remain till after Easter. The pilgrims are lodged all together in the cells of their different

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*The greatest expense of the pilgrims consists in the duties which they are obliged to pay to the Turks and Arabs, either for admission into the holy places, or for *caffari*, or passports. Now the sum total of all these amounts to no more than sixty-five piastres, twenty-nine paras. If the piastre be taken at its maximum, at fifty French sous, and the para at fifteen deniers, this will make one hundred and sixty-four livres, six sous, three deniers: about £6. 17*s*, English money.

Chateaubriand's Travels in Palestine, vol. ii. p. 136.

communities. They are told their lodging is free; but it would not be safe if they went away without presenting a much larger sum than it would cost at an inn;* besides which, they must pay for masses, services, exhortations, &c. and buy crucifixes, chaplets, and Agnus Dei's. When the *Jour de Rameau* arrives, they must go to purify themselves in the river Jordan, which costs a very considerable sum. There is an account given in the history of that pilgrimage, of the tumultuous and confused march of this devout crowd in the plains of Jericho, with their astonishment on viewing the rocks of that country. Having compleated this ablution, the pilgrims return to the Holy Land. When Easter is passed, they all return to their own countries, proud of having vied with the Mussulman in the title of pilgrims. Many of them, in order to shew they have

* The pilgrims do not eat with the fathers as at Jaffa. A separate provision is made for them, and they go to what expense they please. If they are poor, they are supplied with food, and if they are rich, they pay for such things as are brought for them; so that the convents get by them not one single farthing. Lodging, bed, linen, light, and fire, are always furnished gratis, as a tribute due to hospitality.

Chateaubriand's Travels in Palestine, vol. ii. p. 131.

made this voyage, have figures engraved on their arms, wrists, or necks, of the cross, crucifix, our Saviour, or the Virgin Mary, &c. This painful, and sometimes dangerous operation, is performed with gunpowder and a hot iron needle made for that purpose.

The convent of Franks,* called St. Saviour's, is the chief place of all the missions to the Holy Land that are in Turkey, of which there are at present seventeen, chiefly Italian, French, and Spanish. The administration of this convent is in the hands of three individuals belonging to these nations; the superior must be born subject to the Pope; the procureur subject to the King of Spain; and the vicar subject to the King of France. Each is assisted by a second or one under him, and the convent is directed by these six men and a Portugueze.

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* The convent of Nazareth, situated in the lower part of the village, contains about fourteen friars of the Franciscan order. Its church, erected, as they relate, over the cave wherein the Virgin Mary is supposed to have resided, is a handsome edifice; but it is degraded as a sanctuary, by absurdities too contemptible to notice, if the description of them did not offer an instructive lesson, shewing the abject state to which the human mind may be reduced by superstition.

Dr. Clarke's Travels, part ii. sect. i. p. 429.

The principal revenue of the Bedouins at Tor arises from the pilgrimage of the Greeks to the convent on Mount Sinai. The pilgrims have such veneration for the relics of St. Catherine, said to be there, that they are not sure of their salvation if they neglect to visit them, at least, once in their lives, and they come even from the Morea and Constantinople for this purpose. The meeting place is at Grand Cairo, where the monks of Mount Sinai treat with their correspondents to send Arabs with the pilgrims, to conduct them on to their convent. When they arrive there, the Greeks perform their devotions: they visit the church, kiss the relics and images, go above a hundred paces on their knees up the mountain, and finish by making an offering to the convent of no fixed value, but which is seldom less than fifty pataques (about twelve pounds sterling). The situation and building of this convent is singular. It is placed at the foot of Mount Sinai, and appears like a square prison. The walls of it are immoderately high; and to the whole building there is but one small window near the top, which in common serves also for a door, and is used in the following singular manner. The person intended to be admitted sits in a basket, previously let down by the monks from this window,

and is then drawn up in it with cords. This precaution is on account of the Arabs, who would probably force their way into the convent, and, therefore, it is only on the visit of a bishop that they open a door, which at all other times is nailed up and strongly fastened with iron-work. This convent ought to be visited by a bishop every two or three years, but as those visits occasion a great contribution to the Arabs, the monks endeavour to avoid them as much as possible. Great trouble arises to the monks on being obliged to distribute daily portions to the Arabs, a custom which occasions continual disputes, and often induces the Arabs to throw stones and even to fire upon them. The monks never go abroad into the country; but by great labour they have made a garden of earth on the rock, on which they cultivate excellent fruit, such as figs, grapes, and pears. The latter are much esteemed at Cairo. The monks lead a domestic life, after the manner of the Greeks and Maronites of Libanus, and are entirely occupied in works of utility and practices of devotion.

Though the Moors never say much concerning the religious ceremonies they perform at Mecca, yet for those they mention they express

the highest veneration. They seldom speak to Christians on these topics, except to those in whom they have the greatest confidence, and then it is with circumspection. They dwell with religious zeal on the certainty of the Koran's having been delivered by angels to Mahomet verse by verse. They relate the miracle of Mahomet's tomb, at Medina, being suspended from the earth by an invisible power, and persuade themselves they have seen it in this extraordinary situation. They say, that the lamps have burned constantly round it ever since his death, without ever having been replenished at any time; that celestial spirits have been seen by the devout Mussulmans who visit with real holiness the Prophet's tomb, the brilliancy of which, without the aid of human art, never has, nor ever will be, in the least tarnished or faded in its appearance, and which, they profess, surpasses all that can be imagined. The Black Stone in the Temple of Mecca, placed there by Abraham the Patriarch, is called by the Prophet the Ruby of Paradise, and passes by that name in all descriptions given of it by the Mahomedans.

The Mahomedans assemble at a mountain not far from Mecca, where they oblige all the Chris-

tians, Jews, or Pagans in their suite, to quit them, that they may not contaminate the Holy City of Mecca, to which the Mussulmans set out together in a religious procession from the foot of the mountain. Their pilgrimages are not so expensive as those of the Franks and Christians.

Returning from Mecca through the deserts of Arabia, Hadgi Abderrahman again thought his family would have fallen victims to the dangers of the journey. These deserts are infested with Arab tribes of Christians, a people called by the Moors infidels, and declared enemies of the Prophet. It is only a numerous caravan that can attempt to pass this way on that account. During this part of the journey, Hadgi Abderrahman's family was nearly exhausted with fatigue. The caravan, unable to proceed without resting, halted with great apprehensions within sight of these savage robbers: they dared not pitch their tents, and remained a few hours only. These dangerous tribes are very powerful, wandering over the deserts in all directions, and attacking the largest caravans, too often with success. A space of thirty miles often intervenes without a habitation or green leaf to be seen. From year

to year many wretched travellers perish in these deserted tracks, where no shelter is to be met with, nor drop of water to be found, during the whole of the summer months. In the Deserts of Barca, on their return to Tripoli, Hadgi Abderrahman and his family were overtaken by the south winds, which they expected would have buried the whole caravan. These dangerous winds began to blow violently, and after one day's intermission, blew incessantly parching gales for three days, at which period the air became nearly fatal to all those who were exposed to it. Numbers of the caravan died before it reached Tripoli, and the mortality would have been much greater, had they not fortunately been provided with a sufficiency of water.

These dreadful winds are still called by the Arabians the Campsing winds, a name they acquired from the circumstance of Cambyses'*

* Cambyses, King of Persia, conquered Egypt, killed their god Apis, and plundered their temples. He afterwards sent an army of 50,000 men to destroy Jupiter Ammon's Temple, and resolved to attack the Carthaginians and Ethiopians; but, his army having been buried in the sands on their journey, he changed his designs.

Herodotus, lib. 3.—*Justin*, lib. 1, c. x.—*Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 2.

army having perished by them in their Ethiopian expedition.

Notwithstanding the danger and hardships of this pilgrimage, the ambassador has been twice to Mecca since, but without any of the female part of his family.

Not the least news from the Bey's camp has transpired since my last; and notwithstanding the report of the three princes having entirely separated, the Bey is expected in company with his brothers daily at Tripoli.

April 3, 1789.

For our misfortune, we are again honoured with the presence of Muley Yesied, the Emperor of Morocco's son, though it is not seven months since he was here. He seems in his present visit to this country to surpass his former exploits of ferocity and cruelty. Two days before he arrived at Tripoli, on the coast of Zuarra, he performed one of his usual tragedies, for which there was, what is rarely the case, some reason. When he was here last year he had with him a Spanish renegado, in whom he confided much: this slave, from being

one of his attendants, was raised to the rank of cassnador, or treasurer, and letting him still act in the capacity of a mameluke, he set him to watch over his women, and placed every confidence in him. Muley Yesied had been at Tunis some time, during which period he perceived this renegado had estranged the affections of one of his favourite ladies. He took no notice at Tunis of the discovery he had made of the infidelity of the fair slave, or the treachery of the renegado, but brought the deluded culprits on with him, not altering his behaviour, while his heart was coolly meditating in what manner to sacrifice them, that their punishment might satiate his revenge. By the time he arrived at Zuarra, he had decided the fate of these unfortunate wretches. This cannibal eats not men, but he feasts upon their sufferings: he put the two offenders to death, the woman first, and the man afterwards, with his own hands, in a manner the most heightened description of cruelty could not exaggerate. But a detailed relation of such crimes as his would be criminal in itself; the pictures of cruelty, which frequently stain the pages of good authors, appear to serve no other purpose than to excite the curiosity, add to the ingenuity, and increase the ferocity of the wretch prone

to cruelty, who may chance to read or hear of them. A display of the machinations, by which an unhappy being might be entrapped and slaughtered, may prove of eminent use, to warn the unwary from falling a prey to those of his race, who resemble or belong to the fiends; but to count the sufferings of a martyr by the seconds of a watch, and minutely dwell on every groan, seems merely explaining, as I have said, the inventions of cruelty. Feasts have been reported to be given in the interior of Africa, at the bare relation of which the savage African has shuddered, while the quickness of his ideas has obliged him to smile at the invention of the author who related them; but it is no more than truth to say, that Muley Yesied's conduct at present is such, that nature recoils at the idea of treading (even by accident) in the footsteps of such a barbarous savage,

About two years ago, Muley Yesied carried off by violence the daughter of an Arab chief of one of the most considerable tribes of the Deserts of Barca; he brought her back in great pomp last year as his wife, and to pacify Shaik Saffanassa, her father, has sworn to him that she shall be empress when he comes to the throne.

This prince is so very eccentric in his manners, that it is difficult to discriminate when he is sober or inebriated. He this morning rowed round the harbour of Tripoli in great state, and went on board several of the vessels anchored there, where, though he cannot commit any enormities, as each vessel is protected by the national flag, yet he makes most troublesome visits. At a vessel just come into port he fired a pistol, and the captain, when informed it was the Emperor of Morocco's son, saluted him with guns.

Contrary to Muley Yesied's custom of landing at the Pianura, he landed to-day at the Mole, and rode through the town. It was therefore apprehended he would pay a visit at the consular houses; but probably, owing to not finding himself pressed to enter them, and thinking the Christians looked coolly on him, he contented himself with stopping to converse for some time without dismounting. He partook of the refreshments of coffee and sherbet presented to him, which was done merely out of respect to his father, by those nations with whom the Emperor is at present at peace.

An unfortunate slave carrying the prince to-day from the shore to his boat, slipped with him, and threw him into the sea. The prince was soon brought to land; the poor unfortunate slave who fell with him attempted to drown himself, but the prince's attendants seized on him and dragged him away. Orders immediately followed from Muley Yesied to bastinade him so severely that the man is dying.

Muley Yesied has a grand tent pitched in the Pianura, and about five hundred troops with him, besides officers.

The Bashaw causes this prince to be treated with every attention out of the town, but never invites him into the city. He is not a bad figure; his gait is fierce and haughty, his eyes are black, and his teeth extremely white; but his complexion nearly copper-colour, with a dark and savage countenance fitted to his actions. He is just turned of thirty; and the following accounts, with the different anecdotes you will have found in my letters concerning him, will serve to shew you the progress of his life for the last eleven years.

Muley Yesied, in the year 1778,* was in open rebellion against his father, and owing to his machinations, was proclaimed king by the negro army at Mequinez: his mother, a Hessian slave of the Emperor's, and who became one of the Emperor's favourite wives, then interceded for her son and saved him from his father's anger. The Emperor ordered Muley Yesied to atone for his crime by making a pilgrimage to Mecca, telling him that he would allow him to be attended by a proper retinue, and that he would appoint officers to accompany him, to whom he would entrust large sums of money, with orders how to distribute them to the shreefs of Mecca and Medina, as an atonement for his unnatural and savage behaviour. Some days after the Emperor had ordered this pilgrimage, he determined that several of the family should accompany Muley Yesied to Mecca, and, in 1779, the prince set out with Muley Aselmn, his brother, Lilla Largitta, his mother, Lilla il Sebiba, his sister, and the princess Lilla Loubaba. As the latter princess had been betrothed for some time to the holy

* The particulars of this rebellion are fully related by Mr. Chenier.

Present State of the Empire of Morocco, vol. ii. p. 319.

shreef of Mecca, the greatest part of the grandeur displayed in this pilgrimage was considered to be chiefly upon her account. On the arrival of Muley Yesied at Mecca, Lilla Loubaba was married to the shreef. These princes and princesses, besides being accompanied by the grand caravan, were escorted by five hundred and fifty horsemen.

The Emperor entrusted the officers, who accompanied Muley Yesied, with two hundred thousand Levant piastres, or fifty thousand pounds sterling. They had not completed half their journey before Muley Yesied, by promises and threats, extorted sixty thousand piastres from the officers who had the care of it; and those who opposed this sacrilegious breach of trust to the Emperor, Muley Yesied used with savage brutality. In vain his mother, Lilla Largitta, with tears and prayers, implored him to restore the money, reminding him it was intended for sacred purposes. He was equally insensible to her remonstrances, the anger of his father, or the vengeance of his prophet. Before he returned from Mecca, the Emperor was informed of his sacrilegious deed, and sent messengers to forbid the Prince's returning to his dominions, and to tell him, that, enraged at his conduct,

he had sworn in the most solemn manner by the Prophet, never to see him again, till he had performed three successive pilgrimages to Mecca.

Muley Yesied accordingly remained accompanying the caravans, and passing his time, sometimes at Tripoli, and sometimes at Tunis, for near three years, committing all sort of depredations wherever he went. He determined at last to return to Mequinez, and arrived there in September 1781. It was in vain that at his intercession his mother tried again her influence with the Emperor to see him. He in an agony forbid him his presence, till he had completed the three pilgrimages he had ordered him to make.

Muley Yesied, finding all endeavours fruitless to approach his father's court, determined to join the caravan then going off. The Emperor again sent, as before, two hundred thousand Levant piastres, to expiate the offences his son had now committed against the Holy Prophet and Mecca, ordering those he entrusted with the money not to accompany Muley Yesied, nor to join him till they arrived at the Holy Land. But Muley Yesied waylaid them in the deserts, between Alexandria and Cairo, mas-

sacred several of them, and robbed them of seventy thousand piastres. On his return from Mecca he passed as usual through Tripoli, and staid here several months that summer. Knowing how much cause he had given for the Emperor's displeasure, and fearing his resentment, he took letters with him from the Bashaw of Tripoli and Bey of Tunis to plead for him; but these, with every deception he could employ, did not succeed in persuading the Emperor to receive him. His father ordered him to quit his dominions and finish his pilgrimages, of which he had only yet performed two.

Once more he set out with seven of his wives, besides favourites and black slaves, and went with a numerous caravan in great pomp to finish his third pilgrimage. The Emperor sent again large sums to appease the Prophet, and gain his ferocious son a favourable reception at Mecca; but took the precaution of sending those he entrusted the treasures to by sea, that they might not be again assaulted by Muley Yesied, who was gone by land. Enraged and disappointed at not being able to profit on the way of the treasures carried for him to Mecca, he determined on robbing the caravan under his protection, and by extorting from

the principal people in it forty thousand piastres, or ten thousand pounds, he remained at Mecca and in Egypt nearly three years; and in 1787, on his return through the kingdom of Tripoli, committed the violence I before mentioned, of carrying off by force the daughter of the Arab chief, Saffanassa, whom he still obliges to accompany him. She, relying on her father's consequence, is less afraid of Muley Yesied than any of the other unfortunate females with him. She detests his manners, and, if she dared, would escape to her father, but that would be risking too much her father's life, who might fall a sacrifice through treachery to Muley Yesied's revenge.

An order has been sent to the court of Tunis from the Emperor of Morocco, to oblige Muley Yesied to quit that kingdom; and it is now expected he will embark for his father's dominions, whence he has been absent near four years. I should not have written to you so much of this detested prince, had I not been induced to it from the singularity of his character.

June 20, 1789.

We went to the castle yesterday. Lilla Halluma was more out of spirits than usual:

she was on her couch surrounded by her slaves, but none of the ladies of the family were suffered to approach her, except Lilla Howisha, the Bey's wife; and Lilla Halluma said, she only permitted this princess to be with her, because she thought her as unhappy as herself. The reason of their being so depressed was on account of the news brought from the camp in the morning; for though the Bey is returning victorious, the two younger princes are so disaffected to him, that it is said the Bey's life has been twice attempted through the treachery of his brothers. The Bey's daughter, Lilla Zenobia, was with her attendants in the gallery before Halluma's apartment, waiting for her mother. This princess is now thirteen years of age, and more beautiful than can be described. She doats on the Bey, and though so young, feels so strongly the afflictions of her father, that it is feared they have already undermined her constitution; and the Bey often says with great distress, he fears the delicacy of her frame will not support her through the present turbulent times.

After we had been with the Bashaw's wife some time, one of her daughters, Lilla Fatima, the widow of the Bey of Derner, came into

the apartment, and Lilla Halluma permitted her to go and superintend the supper that was preparing for the Bashaw. Lilla Fatima invited us to accompany her on this occasion, which we readily did, expecting to find a great deal of amusement. The Bey's daughter and two of the princesses joined her. After passing through several apartments and passages, where we met from time to time only a solitary eunuch, the clinking of whose arms announced him before we could perceive him, from the gloom of the places we went through, we came to a large stone building covered with domes and supported by columns. Here a number of slaves were occupied in preparing different dishes of meat, in grinding corn, kneading bread, making fine pastes, and dressing fruits. Each of the princesses was followed by several of her attendants, but no one interfered in what was doing but Lilla Fatima, who seemed to be very particular in examining every thing. The negroes attended Lilla Fatima with fans to prevent insects annoying her. The sight of royalty employed in this manner, called to our mind what has been said of the ancients.

The attentions paid here by the princesses

to the food prepared for the Bashaw, though a duty that cannot be dispensed with, is unattended at present with that great degree of dread and suspicion, that prevails where the sovereign's death is every moment anxiously looked for by his subjects and by those allied to him, which is too often the case in Moorish states. At Algiers and Constantinople, the sovereigns live in continual dread of poison being mixed in their victuals. The Grand Signior is said, in troublesome times, to eat only of such dishes brought to his table as are put in a silk handkerchief, and sealed with the seal of his chief cook.

When we returned with the princesses to take leave of the Bashaw's wife, she told us news had arrived of more conquests made by the Bey over the Arabs, and that he was expected alone in town in a day or two, his brothers having separated from him. On account of this latter news, we left Lilla Halluma and the princesses more uneasy than they were before, for fear the circumstances of the Bey's returning without his brothers should procure him an ill reception from the Bashaw.

July 28, 1789.

A black prince of Bornou is here at present: he is come from Tunis, and is returning to Bornou. He has with him three of his wives: one of them, in her travels with the prince, has learnt enough of the Italian language to express herself in *lingua Franca*; but the prince is so jealous of his wives, that the Christian ladies have tried in vain to see them.* The prince has

* The Bashaw of Tripoli always receives foreign princes with a hearty welcome. Ali Bey, the Persian traveller, visited this city in 1805, and experienced the greatest proofs of affection from Sidy Useph, the reigning sovereign.

"J'étois depuis trois jours à Tripoli, lorsque le capitaine m'apporta l'ordre de ma présentation au Pacha. L'audience fut pompeuse; elle eut lieu dans un grand salon, où étoit le Pacha assis sur une espèce de trône ou de petit sopha élevé, ayant ses fils à ses côtés, et entouré d'une cour brillante. On mit devant lui mon présent, qu'il reçut avec grâce et dignité: il me combla de politesses, et me rendit toute espèce d'honneurs. Je fus long-temps assis sur une chaise qu'il avoit fait apporter: il s'entretient long-temps avec moi, et me fit servir du thé, de l'eau de senteur et des parfums: il me donna les plus grandes preuves d'affection. Après avoir beaucoup parlé, nous nous séparâmes forts contents l'un de l'autre; il me donna sa main, comme il l'eut fait à un ami, et ne me permit pas de la lui baiser, comme cela se pratique envers un souverain.

Voyages d'Ali Bey en Afrique et en Asie, tom. ii. p. 19.

one of the best houses in the town allotted him by the Bashaw. We called there one day, unexpectedly, in hopes of gaining admittance to these princesses, but the servants were hurried out with the usual excuse, that the prince was sleeping, and therefore no one could be admitted. He has been at the Christian parties in the evening, but all attempts to see his wives have been in vain, and he leaves this place tomorrow for Bornou. From the accounts given us by the Moorish ladies who have seen the prince's wives, they are extremely pretty for black women, not the least of the negro cast, cheerful and pleasant in their manners, and mild to their attendants.' Their dress is modelled after the Tunisian fashion, as they wear caps, jilecks, and baracans, which they have bought in their late visit to that country. They wear the gold cap wound round with a coloured silk Tunisian handkerchief, in the form of a turban. This is an idea of their own, not from the Tunisian or Tripolitan mode of dressing.

The Prince of Bornou, considering he comes from the interior of Africa, is extremely well informed, and much acquainted with the state of Europe. The most striking part of his dress was the pearls he wore, which were all of an

uncommon size. He had large gold ear-rings set with the most valuable jewels, but no nose ring, as it is said the great people of Bornou have. His attendants were composed of Turks and blacks, and all perfectly well accoutred.

The Moors are in the habit of recounting such fabulous stories of Bornou and its king, that it is impossible to rely on their accounts. The prince, whose intelligence is probably correct, describes the kingdom of Bornou as a most fertile country with good fruits, particularly grapes, apricots, and pomegranates. He says, though some wild beasts are seen there, they are not so numerous as in the deserts between Tunis and Tripoli; to cross these deserts being reckoned among the most dangerous journies in Africa, on account of the number of lions and tigers that issue from the woods and mountains near Tunis. The prince says, his subjects are free from the dreadful customs of the nations surrounding them, who eat, sacrifice, and sell the blacks, and that only those who call themselves Christians* and the

* The Abyssinians call themselves descendants of Solomon. After the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon, the Abyssinians were converted, and the laws of the Queen

Pagans commit such enormities. It is from the Christian merchants and the Jews on the south-west coast of Africa that the Emperor of Morocco chiefly recruits his negro army: the factories there send to purchase and kidnap these unfortunate creatures from the negro states and other kingdoms. This black prince represented the government of Bornou as extremely mild, and the subjects very pacific. They do not wish to let out their troops for hire, and seldom lend them; when they do, it is only to Mahometans. They seek after no conquests, are content with their own situation, and for many years have not stood in need of auxiliary soldiers. They could raise, if required, great armies expeditiously, from the number of their subjects and the goodness of their horses, which he reckons superior to those of Arabia or Barbary, as they possess the best qualities of those animals, being as serviceable as those of Arabia, and as beautiful as those of Barbary. The Moors here have such an idea of the forces at Bornou,

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of Sheba, who died 986 before the birth of Christ, have been always maintained by the Abyssinians;—first, when Jews; and afterwards, when they embraced Christianity.

Bruce's Travels

that among the fabulous stories they recount of that kingdom, they say when the King of Bornou sends out his troops, the body of a large date tree is laid down before the gate of the city, on which the troops step as they go out of the town, and as the foot soldiers go through the gate they wear out the body of this tree. These ignorant stories owe their continuance in circulation among the common people at Tripoli, to the difficulty of their being contradicted, as the kingdom of Bornou is divided from Tripoli by almost impassable deserts, at the distance of near one thousand miles, and the roads from Fezzan to Tripoli are unfrequented by caravans. The little intercourse, therefore, between Bornou and this place, renders every account given of it by the Tripolitans erroneous, and the appearance of a prince or even chief person from thence is at Tripoli very rare indeed.

July 29, 1789.

By private letters from Tunis, it is said that an expedition is fitting out, with the consent of the Grand Signior, to convey the Pretender to Tripoli. He is a Tripolitan, who has lived at the court of Tunis for many years, and

declares himself to be an uncle of the Bashaw, one who escaped out of seven who fell at his accession to the throne. This prince, if living, fled from Tripoli so very young, that it would be difficult for any one here to ascertain his being the same person. Many who have gone from Tripoli to Tunis on purpose to see him, say he is an impostor.

Some days after these accounts arrived that the Pretender was on the point of setting off for this place, a Moor came into town from a neighbouring village, called the Sucara, who reports that he is the son of the Gebeleen (Mountaineer), at whose cottage the Bashaw's uncle took shelter when pursued by the Arabs; and that the Bashaw's blacks forced their way in, and returned soon after, saying they had driven the Bashaw's uncle into a well in the garden, where he was drowned. Owing to the very great confusion in Tripoli at that period, the body of this prince was not sought for till many days after the event, when a quantity of rubbish was taken out of the well resembling spoilt habits, but nothing like the remains of a human form appeared. By half the people it was asserted, that the Bashaw's uncle had perished in this well, and the other half de-

clared he had escaped; but the Moor adds, that, previous to the above circumstance, this prince, while secreting himself in the Messeah (the part of the country adjoining the town) where he was waiting to join a caravan and escape to Tunis, was one day loading his piece, when it went off, and took away the first joint of one of his fingers, a mark by which he could not fail to be known, and which circumstance his father, a very old man, is still living to assert.

This report has made so strong an impression on the people, that should the Pretender arrive without any defect in his hands, though with the Grand Signior's firman, he will be repulsed, from his having imposed upon the court of Tunis and the Porte.

August 12, 1789.

Tripoli has been, as it generally is when frigates are here, gayer than usual for the last week. The Pearl, commanded by Captain Finch, came here some days since, and remained a week. A son of Earl Paget and a son of Lord Bagot were on board, both midshipmen: the latter a proficient in painting

and drawing; and, having an artist with him, lost no time in copying every thing that struck him to be worthy of notice, among which, you may be sure, the curious and antient arch* I have mentioned did not escape. It has been correctly drawn and coloured, and he professes himself highly gratified that the English Consul's taste led him to persuade the Bashaw, some time since, to have the shops and rubbish removed out of the arch, which had almost choked up the inside, and concealed the beau-

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* Near the French Consul's house is a fine monument; a triumphal arch built by the Romans, an octagon cupola, supported by four arches, with the same number of pillars. The whole built without cement, with enormous stones sustained by their own weight.

This monument was ornamented with carvings, figures, festoons, and warlike trophies within and without; but the greatest part of these relievos are destroyed; there remain only a few scattered and unconnected parts which still shew the ancient beauties of the work.

On the north and west sides are yet seen the remains of an inscription, which appears to have been the same on both sides. This singularity has afforded M. Nissen, the Danish Consul, the means of comparing them: by uniting and placing in order the fragments of the two inscriptions, he has entirely restored it, as may be seen in plate xv.

Voyages d'Ali Bey en Afrique et en Asie, tom. ii. p. 21. Paris, 1814.

tiful ceiling. Every body says this is the only drawing that has been taken by the Christians in the memory of any one here, which seems very probable, as from the great jealousy the Moors displayed on the present occasion, it must have been impossible for Christians to stand and take any observations or models of antiquities, without appropriate precautions for their ease and security. In the present instance, a direct leave was procured from the Bashaw himself, and such of the Moors as were concerned in it were induced to consent, by persuasion of its being natural for literary people to examine ancient customs, without any hostile view on the country, or want of respect to the prophet.

September 18, 1789.

The Bey is returned from the camp, and, to the great satisfaction of the people of Tripoli, he is so well received by his father, that they yesterday went round the town in state together to the different mosques,* to return thanks

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* Tripoli contains six mosques of the first order with minarets, and six others smaller. The great mosque is magnificent,

at the altar of their prophet, and invoke his further favour, and to strike more forcibly the minds of the populace. The dresses of the officers and those who attended the Bashaw and

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magnificent, and its plan is beautiful; the roof is composed of small cupolas, and supported by sixteen superb doric columns of fine grey marble, which I was told had been taken from a Christian edifice. It was built by the grandfather of Sidy Yusuf. This monument (as well as all those I have seen at Tripoli) was built in a much better style than those which I had seen at Morocco. Their elevation is majestic, and they have lofty galleries for the singers, like the churches in Europe. They are covered with carpets, while even the mosques of the Sultan's palace at Morocco are covered only with mats; that of Muley Edris at Fez is the only one covered with carpets.

The minarets of Tripoli are cylindrical elevated towers, with a gallery round the upper part, from the middle of which rises another small tower. From this gallery the Mudeen calls the people to prayers.

The worship is plainer and more mystical at Morocco: here it is more complicated and more pompous. On Friday, at noon, the ceremony begins by several singers tuning verses of the Koran. The Iman ascends his pulpit, which is nothing more than a staircase, the same as at Morocco, except that there it is composed of stone and here of wood. He recites a prayer in a low voice, with his face to the wall, then turning himself towards the people, he sings a sermon with the same tremblings and quakings as are observed in singing certain Spanish songs called *Polo Andalous*.

Voyages d'Ali Bey en Afrique et en Asie, tom. ii. p. 29.

Bey, had much more an appearance of state than usual; but as I have before described to you the Bashaw's procession to the marabuts, I shall only say he was on this occasion particularly brilliant. On these days, the Bashaw honours his nobles and chief officers of state, in successively calling at their houses. He yesterday stopped at the residence of Hadgi Abderrahman; and this honour cost him as usual a negro. When the Bashaw stops at any of the consular houses, sherbets, coffee, and cakes, are presented to him and his suite, which, in general, consists of about two hundred persons.

In the procession were carried the standard of Mahomet, of green satin embroidered with gold, and the Mecca flag of green silk, with sentences of the Koran worked round the edge. The Iman, or Mufti, attended in his robes; the royal nubar, or band, followed, and no person was mounted on horseback but the Bashaw and Bey. All their suite, guards, and slaves, were on foot, according to the usual respect paid to the Sovereign and the Bey, when passing in state through the town.

When the Bey returned from the camp, the

heads of some particular chiefs of the enemies slain in battle were brought with him, and in order to preserve them they had been salted. This is not an uncommon practice among the Moors and Turks. Muley Yesied, while on his travels, sent two curious looking chests, carefully packed, directed to the care of the English consul, with letters requesting he would immediately forward them to the Emperor of Morocco. The captain of a man of war, who lay in the harbour of Tripoli, took charge of them. To the surprize of every body, during the few days the boxes were in the consular house, they became so offensive, that had they not been embarked they must have been removed; and after they were on board, the captain of the frigate feared they would infect the ship. Nobody had the least suspicion of what these chests contained, even at the time they were delivered at Morocco to the Emperor, but these dreadfully offensive packages proved afterwards to be human heads.

Hadgi Abderrahman, from the letters he had received, informed us that before the Bey left the camp he punished six of his people who had behaved cowardly, in the following whimsical manner. He had their baracans put

on in the stile the women wear them, their hands and feet painted with henna, and ordered them to be led with their faces covered with silk handkerchiefs, in the manner of brides, all round his camp, and then insisted they should wear that dress till they had recovered their credit by some signal service. This mode of punishment had such an effect upon one of them, that the man who had not sufficient courage to face the enemy, had false courage enough to quit the world rather than bear the scorn of his companions, and shot himself.

The two younger princes are expected in town daily, but it is feared not without intentions of again sowing dissentions between the Bashaw and the Bey.

November 11, 1789.

Since the Bey's return from the camp, the country round being clearer than usual from the incursions of the Arabs, it was determined by the Christians to take a ride to the eastward, of a greater distance from the city of Tripoli than has been practicable to ladies for a long time. Our party for this excursion consisted of twenty, and though our guards or dragomen

and servants, with those belonging to the other consuls who went with us, amounted to more than that number, yet it was not thought safe to go without some of the hampers, or Bashaw's guards, from the castle, which was granted for our further security. The place where we dined was an olive grove, with grounds belonging to the Bashaw's first minister, Mustapha Scrivan, where Moors are stationed to take care of his lands. Mustapha Scrivan's eldest son, and a shreef of Mecca, accepted of an invitation to join the party, accompanied us with our attendants and dined with us, sharing the amusements of the day, which were rendered more pleasant, as their presence gave greater security to our excursion by contributing to keep the Moors and Arabs in order.

For some miles after we left the town of Tripoli, the soil the greatest part of the way was a white silver sand, apparently chrystallized, the brilliancy of which, in a long journey, is often fatal to the eyes of travellers. This appearance is peculiar to the sands and deserts nearest Tripoli; their extreme whiteness makes the contrast between them and the deep red sands brought by the campsin or hot winds from the interior, too striking to pass unnoticed.

In our ride, where the foliage of the Indian fig was in abundance, the roads, fields, and other inclosures, to which it served as fences, made a most extraordinary appearance. This immense leaf grows here to the length of sixteen or seventeen inches, and eight or nine in width; its consistence renders it nearly the substance of wood: while it is young, it is of a beautiful green, growing without stem, one leaf out of the other. This extraordinary shrub forms a hedge of fourteen or fifteen feet high, and eight or nine feet thick, making a much stronger fence than either brick or stone walls. This being the season for it to blossom, its appearance was truly curious; every leaf was set close round the edge with the full blossoms of the fruit, which were orange colour tipped with crimson; and the shape of the leaves forming large scollops, the extreme brightness of the sun gave the hedges and fields an appearance of being every where richly decorated in festoons of gold and red.

The cultivated grounds we passed were not laid out with method or design, but were inclosures of trees of all sizes and qualities, and placed in all directions, among which the towering date tree was every where conspicuous,

displaying close to its summit luxuriant branches of the ripe date, resembling amber: cabbages, turnips, wheat, and barley, grew in variegated and confused patches beneath them. The gardens of people of distinction, by being chiefly confined to the orange, lemon, and citron trees, made a most beautiful appearance, heightened by the effect of the sun.

At the distance of a few miles from Tripoli, the greatest part of the Moors we met had on no other garment but the red cap and the dark brown baracan of web or woollen, which served to cover them from the shoulders to the middle of the leg, placed in ample folds, according to their own taste, around their bodies, but leaving the right arm and shoulder exposed. Coral, bits of tin, and beads ornamented the women's heads, and a lighter baracan, generally black, wrapped tightly round them, composed the whole of their dress. These women stared at us as much as we did at them, and did not seem over diligent to conceal their features from our party, but were careful in covering themselves when the shreef of Mecca, or Mustapha Scrivan's son, or any of the guards who were with us, approached them.

Just before we reached Sahal, we stopped to look at a small mosque in a village that was open at the time we passed. It was remarkable for its great neatness, and the gay china tiles with which it was lined throughout. The floor was covered with bright Tunisian carpets; and the pulpit, with the steps ascending to it, was of the brightest marble; yet the congregation that came to this little neat mosque was wholly composed of the unclad peasantry of a mud village. To nothing, however, are the Mahomedans more attentive than to the beauty and cleanliness of their mosques and burying places.

The handsomest mosque in Africa is the one at Fez, which a Moor of distinction, who lately came from thence, described to us. This extraordinary edifice is covered with seventeen principal arches, or roofs, besides a vast number of inferior ones. All these are sustained by no less than fifteen hundred large columns of white marble; upwards of a thousand lamps, some of a very considerable size, are kept continually burning within it; and the cisterns, which are prepared for Mahomedans to wash in before they go to prayers, are to the number of five hundred.

When we first arrived at Sahal, we stopped only to examine the olive plantations, where we were to dine, and found, as had been described to us, that the olive trees formed a shade impenetrable to the sun's rays, and promised us a delightful shelter from the atmosphere which was getting how intensely hot; but we still continued our ride to view a salt lake in the midst of the sands, called the lake of Tajura, not far from the village of that name. At this time it was nearly dry; but when full, it covers a mile and a half of ground, and is in most places half a mile across. When this lake is dry there remains a bed of salt round the edge as hard as stone; it is broken with great difficulty, and brought in bars to Tripoli. This lake produces a great deal of salt, and is the chief place whence this article is taken which is exported from the kingdom: it is much finer, both in flavour and colour, than the salt from the two famous lakes of Delta, on this side Alexandria. The beds of these two extraordinary lakes are a sort of ditch, from ten to twelve miles in length, and near a mile in width: they are dry nine months in the year, but in the winter there comes from the ground a deep violet-coloured water, filling the lakes to five or six feet. The return of the

heat dries this water up, and there remains a bed of salt above two feet in thickness, and so hard that it is broken by bars of iron. They procure from these lakes thirty-six thousand quintals of salt every year, a quintal being about a hundred and twenty pounds weight.

The lake of Tajura is nearly surrounded by sands, but on approaching the village of Tajura there appeared innumerable small clusters of trees at considerable distances from each other. In the middle of each clump the sands carried thither by the winds lay in a conical form, nearly as high as the tops of the trees, presenting an appearance of having been brought there by human exertion for some particular purpose.

The Mahomedan peasantry, though slaves to their lords in every thing but name, appeared contented and happy. Whole families were laying round the doors of their cottages, laughing, smoking, singing, and telling romantic tales. They brought us out fresh dates, bowls of new milk, and jars of sweet lakaby.

In these mixed circles of peasants, it was worth while for persons more refined than the

Moors to observe, through the rudeness of their manners, the attentions paid from the young to the aged, and from the son to the father. But Moors, Turks, and Arabs are remarkably kind to their children; and, in return, children are eminently obedient and affectionate to their parents, and submissive to their superiors. It was easy to discern in a moment, by his manner, when a young man was speaking to his father, his superior, or an older man than himself: to each he used a different sort of marked respect, both in his gesture and words.

The Moors are very tenacious and jealous of their consequence, but they are not in general addicted to boasting, and cannot bear it in others. The dragomen who were with us took great exceptions at one of their corps, who gave the following extraordinary account of himself. This man, who is not thirty years of age, is a renegado, and took the name of Hammed when he apostatized: he declares he is the Marquis Saint Julian, whose marriage with the daughter of the first minister of Naples was celebrated a few years since in great magnificence. The marquis held a high command in a corps of Neapolitan guards, of which the

privates are all persons of distinction. Hammed describes with enthusiasm the personal and mental charms of the lady he married; but says, the passion he had for her blinded him too much to listen to the numerous reports spread through Naples, of an illiçit correspondence which took place, during his absence from that kingdom, between his wife and the Prince of Calabria. He says he gave no credit to this report, till observing narrowly the Marchioness one day at court, he was convinced she was culpable. Being obliged to remain on duty near the king, he set spies to watch the conduct of his wife, who soon informed him of the Prince's being with the Marchioness at her own house. He immediately went home, when the first person he met in a corridor leading to his wife's apartments, was one of her women with an infant in her arms belonging to her mistress; an infant, whose birth and existence the Marquis was an entire stranger to. He, in a paroxysm of rage, stabbed the attendant, and the infant falling on the marble floor, instantly expired at his feet. He immediately proceeded to his wife's room, where the Prince of Calabria was attempting to support the Marchioness, who, on hearing the Marquis's voice, had fallen senseless on the sofa. The Prince perceiving the

Marquis so near him armed with his sword, stained with the blood of the victim he had just slain, made a spring to the window, and saved himself by jumping from the balcony. The Marquis turned to the sofa, and plunging his sword through his wife's body, left his house and fled. He sailed from Naples; was taken by a Turkish corsair, and brought a slave to Barbary, where he directly embraced the Mahomedan faith. He is young and handsome, but proud and ferocious, and speaks with a sanguinary exultation of the dreadful revenge he procured himself.

Our admiration of the village marabut, or mosque, near Sahal, gave an offence to the Moors, which had nearly proved more serious than we at the time imagined. Several Moors came up to us on our leaving the marabut; but when spoken to by the guards, and seeing two persons of such distinction with us, a shreef of Mecca and the son of the first minister, they retired, though evidently much discontented. Several other parties advanced to us, one after the other, and retired in the same manner: we thought little more of this circumstance, and continued our ride. Several hours afterwards, while we were dining under the olive trees at

Sahal, some Moors appeared at a distance, apparently from the curiosity they in general have to see Christians. They hailed us with a compliment paid here from inferiors, that of "*Salum alicum*" (may there be peace between us), and received from our party the appropriate answer to it of "*Alicum salum*" (there is peace between us). Our servants carried to them, as usual, dishes of meat, and the Moors greeted us often in return with the expression of "*Alli bark*" (God prosper you). This cordiality seemed to speak all well. As the number of the Moors increased, we perceived their good-will towards us declined, and from the time we had finished our repast and prepared to mount our horses, till we nearly reached the town, they followed us murmuring and expostulating with our dragomen; and it was certainly owing to the rank of our two Moorish friends who were with us, that they did not molest us. As a proof of their hostile intentions, the Governor of Sahal reported this circumstance to the Bashaw yesterday, saying, the Moors would have attacked the Christians if he had not prevented them in time. As we did not know exactly the extent of our danger, we arrived in town satisfied with having spent a very agreeable day.

February 24, 1790.

All is again quiet in Tripoli; but there is very little hope of the place remaining long undisturbed. The Bashaw is very ill; the Bey is very reserved; and the two younger princes, who were united in the strictest bonds of friendship together against the Bey, are now at variance with each other. We this morning visited the castle, and, I am sorry to say, the cheerfulness of Lilla Halluma and the princesses seemed more the effort to check melancholy ideas, than the natural result of the heart. These ladies described to us the castle as a scene of anarchy and confusion. Lilla Halluma says, she has not time allowed her to recover between the succession of frightful visions which the present dissentions at the castle raise, regarding the future fate of her three sons. While she was speaking to us, a message being brought that the Bey was coming to his mother's apartment, his brother's (Sidy Hamet's) wife and other ladies retired, and there remained only Lilla Halluma, two of her daughters, and the Bey's wife, besides our party. When the Bey entered the apartment, Lilla Halluma remained nearly unveiled: indeed, from their afflictions, the princesses also attend less than

usual to the etiquette of concealing their features from their brother. The anxious inquiring look Lilla Halluma bestowed on the Bey, and the affectionate manner in which he accosted them all, could not fail to be painfully interesting to us, on account of the news we had just heard. The Bey attempted to be cheerful, inquired the reports from Europe, and talked on indifferent subjects; but he was austere to his attendants, and the deep melancholy impressed on his features bespoke him not at ease. When he departed, his eunuchs, who waited for him in the galleries, seemed to watch his movements with eagerness, and the motion of his lips with terror. Lilla Halluma hid her face in her baracan for some time after the Bey's departure; but recovering herself, she intreated us to come often and see her, and not stay away on account of troubles at the castle; saying, she would send the most confidential of her women to acquaint us if there was any thing to prevent our usual visits.

We could not help being much struck with the many suspicious and fearful countenances we passed in leaving the palace, which foreboded no favourable change to calm the fears Lilla Halluma had expressed.

March 10, 1790.

An Algerine chaoux, sent from the Dey to the Bashaw, has been here some days. Like most of the Turks and Algerines, he is extremely insolent and troublesome. He had the effrontery to demand of the Bashaw, for his master, a very fine black eunuch, who had been lately presented to him, and who from being extremely handsome, was intended as a present from this court to the Grand Signior. On the Bashaw's refusal, the chaoux made no ceremony of saying among the people, that as the Bashaw would not give him the eunuch for the Dey, he should take him, and he accordingly enticed the black out of the castle, and forced him on board the vessel, which waited to take him back to Algiers. The Bashaw sent directly a message to the consul to whose nation the ship belonged, requesting it might be detained till he recovered the eunuch. The consul, of course, sent word to the castle, that the ship should not sail till the Bashaw was satisfied. The chaoux finding an embargo laid upon the vessel, sent his people to the Marine, and had the black brought on shore again.

March 20, 1790.

We are seldom many days, I am sorry to say, without unpleasant accounts from the castle. A relation of what passed in the palace yesterday afternoon, will convey a much clearer idea than I could otherwise give you of genuine Moorish sentiments and manners, and the existing dispositions of the royal family to each other, who were too hastily collected toget' er on this occasion to disguise their real sentiments.

Sidy Hamet had not long parted with the Bashaw and retired to his apartments, at the hour of the afternoon siesto, when one of his officers came in hastily to him saying, "*ye Sidy Uras el Bashaw*," (by the Bashaw's head), Sidy Useph has ordered a servant of yours to be bastinadoed, for having quarrelled with one of his attendants." Sidy Hamet wishing, if possible, not to notice or resent the liberty his brother had taken, desired they would not disturb him, saying, "he has done well, in saving me the trouble of doing it myself." In a few minutes another message was brought, that Sidy Useph had ordered his blacks to kill the servant wherever they found him, and

that they were then searching the castle to find him. There was with Sidy Hamet a Moor, to whom he is particularly attached, called Hadgi Hamet: this Moor is a Gibeleen, or mountaineer, remarkable for his courage and his attachment to the Bashaw's family. Sidy Hamet rose from his couch, called for his arms, and turning to Hadgi Hamet said, "what can this mean? my brother orders his servants to kill my servant, and will not trust to me for justice. Did you not see, according to my orders, a servant of mine under the baston for having offended one of my brother's blacks two days ago, and did you not take him to my brother to beg his pardon?" Hadgi Hamet replied, every thing was done as he had ordered. Sidy Hamet then directed Hadgi Hamet to go to Sidy Useph, and tell him he expected him immediately to recal the order he had given to kill one of his servants. The Bashaw, he said, did not take this liberty with any of the princes, but left them to chastise their own domestics; and that if his servant's life was with justice required, it should not be denied. Hadgi Hamet went, but returned immediately, having been refused admittance to Sidy Useph. Sidy Hamet then desired Hadgi Hamet to arm himself completely, and wait his orders. No-

body in the castle is permitted to wear arms but the people about the Bashaw, even the dragomen when they go with the Christians to the castle, take off their arms on entering it; therefore Hadgi Hamet concealed his arms under his caftan. Sidy Hamet returned in a few minutes with his knives and two pistols, bidding Hadgi Hamet follow him. They went to Sidy Useph, whom they found armed at the door of his apartments. Sidy Hamet inquired of him why he had given orders to kill his servant, and to what lengths he meant to go? "Do you begin," said he, "by cutting my servants to pieces, and then mean to end with me?" Sidy Useph making a short answer, said, "Sidick (the Bashaw) is alive; he will protect me;" and immediately turned round, calling to his people, who had already armed themselves, and only waited for his orders to act: for in an instant fifty men rushed out of Sidy Useph's apartments and set up the scream of war, which according to the Turkish custom always precedes their fights. Sidy Hamet's people, fortunately for him, aware of his danger, had armed themselves without his orders, and in a few moments were collected round him, when he ordered them to be silent, and not to return the scream of war; but remarked to

his brother, that the disagreeable task of assembling his people to arm in his own apartments, he was happy to say, was not a necessary measure for himself to take, and that, asleep or awake, Sidy Useph must not expect to find him unprepared, as every man he had would be with him in time of danger, without being summoned. He then went up close to his brother and said, "Sidy Useph, what shall we get by cutting our servants to pieces here, who are all friends, *wield el bled*, (sons of the town)? we may fill the castle with blood, and frighten the women, but here we shall escape each others arms; if we fall, it may be by some of our own people, and our private quarrel will remain unrevenged. Call for your horse, mine is ready, and let us instantly go out in the Pianura, and there settle this dispute between us." Sidy Useph seemed to agree to this proposal, but the Bashaw appeared amongst them at the moment they were preparing to leave the castle. He was summoned to this scene by the voice of Lilla Uducia, the wife of Sidy Hamet, who when that prince left his apartments followed him, tearing her hair and throwing off her ornaments as she accompanied him to the utmost extent of the harem; and when she saw him quit it, ran to Lilla Halluma's apartments,

screaming in despair, that Sidy Hamet was gone out armed to meet his brother. All the attendants and slaves repeated her cries; and the Bashaw, who was retired to sleep, was awaked by the sounds of *wulliah-woo* (the song of distress), which ran through the castle. He started up, and slinging one of their long knives across him, he took a pistol in each hand, and supported on one side by a black woman, and on the other by a black slave, left his couch and entered the castle-yard in his sleeping apparel, without caftan or turban. The Bashaw is old and infirm, and thinking (as all must do at present on any alarm at the castle) that his sons were destroying each other, he appeared too much affected to be able to stand. Out of respect to his father, Sidy Hamet, seeing him approach, dismissed all his people, and ordered them not to appear till he called for them; whilst Sidy Useph remained opposite his father with his servants, who were still increasing in numbers. One officer alone remained with Sidy Hamet. The Bashaw in his agitation seemed not to notice the hostile appearance of Sidy Useph, and when sufficiently recovered to speak, directed himself only to Sidy Hamet, desiring him to lay down his arms, saying he had one foot out of the grave and the other in,

and his beard falling one hair after the other, "yet," said he, "Sidy Hamet, you will not let me enjoy in peace the few last days of my life!" It was in vain Sidy Hamet observed to the Bashaw, that he had, out of respect to him, dismissed his people, and that he remained with only one officer, while his brother had all his people armed by his side, even in his father's presence, against the rules of the castle. Sidy Hamet said, he was there to protect the lives of his people against the orders of Sidy Useph, and requested the Bashaw to order his brother to dismiss his people and lay down his arms first, as he was the aggressor and the youngest; but the Bashaw again desired Sidy Hamet to disarm the officer that was with him, saying, he being the eldest must set the example. "Twice," said the Bashaw, "I have told you, Sidy Hamet, to disarm; this is the last time; do not make this a day of blood for you and for me: I am armed as well as you, and am still Bashaw in this castle. This drawing of knives while I am alive, this calling me from my sedda (or couch) with pistols in your hand, is aiming at my life, and against all the laws of our Prophet." Sidy Hamet replied to his father, "Ye, Sidy, it is that you do not or will not behold my brother surrounded by arms,

while you order me to disarm :—but you gave me life; if you chuse that my brother should take it away in your sight, it is enough; there are my arms, and here are those of my servant."

The Bashaw then called to Sidy Useph, and ordered the brothers to embrace each other. Sidy Hamet and Sidy Useph approached the Bashaw : they each kissed his hand and laid it on their heads, then kissed his head and the hem of his garment, and wished him in the Moorish manner a long life. They were retiring and did not offer to salute each other : the Bashaw seized both their hands in his, and said, " by the Prophet, by my head, by your hands, and by this hand that holds them, there is peace between you." The Bashaw then desired Sidy Useph to go to his apartments, and taking Sidy Hamet by the hand led him to his chamber, where Sidy Hamet's sister, Lilla Howisha, the Rais of the Marine's wife, was anxiously waiting, and whom, of all his sisters, Sidy Hamet is the fondest of. The Bashaw ordered her to go and sit by her brother, and not to leave him till he was calm.

They say at the castle that Sidy Useph is the Bashaw's favourite, and that he takes an ad-

vantage of that to usurp more power than belongs to him. This was hinted to the Bashaw by the family during this disturbance, when the Bashaw very angrily expressed himself as follows: "How many wives have I married?* Where is the Greek slave of whom I have made a queen? Have I given to one jewels, and dressed up her son, and forgot the rest; or are they not all Lilla Halluma's children? Is there any other Lilla Kebbiera, or Bashaw's wife, in the castle but herself?" This disturbance was so serious, that every inhabitant of the castle was called to the scene of confusion, except the Bey, who is hurt at the power the Bashaw permits Sidy Useph to assume, and is with reason suspicious of his brother's intentions towards himself. The Bashaw retired to Lilla Halluma's apartments, accompanied by herself and two of her daughters; and the silent hours of the siesto not being yet over, the castle resumed its usual stillness, and all appeared tranquil during the remainder of the afternoon.

* The Bashaw, contrary to the Mahomedan custom, has had but one wife, though many favourite blacks, and some Circassian slaves.

April 26, 1790.

For the last ten or twelve days, we have been living at one of the Bashaw's palaces in the country, which I need not describe, as it is the same where the consul entertained the officers who brought the ambassador, Hadgi Abderrahman, from England; and on this account, some of the lower class of Moors in the neighbourhood still mention the circumstance. I informed you in that letter, of a midshipman having been wanting in respect to the Bey, and now and then a Gebeleen, or Mountain Moor, passes us with a severe look, and is heard to wonder at the Bashaw's lenity to the Christians, which indeed is uncommon, and renders the living in this country in that respect very pleasant. It is seldom we meet a Moor, from the highest to the lowest, who is not perfectly anxious to oblige and serve us.

As soon as the Bashaw heard of our dislike to go to any of the Moorish ambassador's country residences, on account of their families having occupied them during the plague, he obligingly offered us one of his palaces, which had remained shut up at the time of the sick-

ness, as none of the royal family left the castle while the plague lasted.

During the violent heats, and before the hot winds set in this season, a party was made and we came here, with three consuls' families besides our own. Our number, therefore, together with the guards and servants belonging to each family, renders us formidable enough to feel ourselves very secure from common occurrences; and to outward appearance, the princes have remained tolerably reconciled since the last disturbance at the castle. Nor are we afraid of being molested by Muley Yesied, who is at Fez, and in open rebellion against the Emperor of Morocco. Circular letters were received a few weeks since from the Emperor, to all the consuls in Barbary, desiring that none of his subjects might be shipped for any place but his dominions, on pain of breaking the peace with him.

The palace we are in is very large; and every family is perfectly well accommodated with a detached suite of rooms to themselves, all spacious and lofty. We breakfast apart, but ride and walk in the morning, and

dine all together, and do not separate till the evening.

The Bashaw's chiosk, or Belvidere, which I have not before mentioned to you, is carried up a considerable height above the top of the palace. It is built in a square form, with windows round it; and the walls and every part is lined with the finest and most beautiful tiles peculiar to the Persian manufactory, of which no seam or joints are visible, and which represents pleasing landscapes. Under a burning atmosphere, the comforts of this chiosk are not to be described: it forms a cool, clean, and pleasant retreat, which renders it a delightful shelter from heat, insects, and sand. From its height, it commands a view of the country round. On one side, the summits of the dark blue mountains at Gerrian are distinctly seen from the windows; on the other side, the deserts beginning from the Bashaw's garden wall bound the horizon. In this vast space, no other objects are seen but two great marabuts, or mosques, whither most of the criminals of Tripoli fly as a sanctuary; and a few shrubs at great distances appear like small black specks in the sand. Hence with glasses we have seen the caravan at so great a distance, that it ap-

peared at first sight, on these sun bleached deserts, like a crooked line from the stroke of a pencil.

May 12, 1790.

We are still at the Bashaw's palace in the country: the three princes are often out to take the diversion of riding on the sands; but the Bey visits us more frequently than either of his brothers. He came to see us to-day and had nearly two hundred mounted guards with him. Most of the horses belonging to the chief persons had as usual their harness studded with gold and silver, and were covered with housings of costly embroidery: the customary number of relay horses for the Bey, richly caparisoned, were led by the blacks. The consuls went to receive the Bey as soon as he dismounted. When he entered the apartment, he was conducted to a sopha, and the Christians were seated on chairs round him; his sword-bearer, treasurer, and other officers of state, and his two favourite mamelukes remained standing. The Bey partook of the refreshments offered him, and appeared in much better spirits than usual.

In the course of conversation he expressed a wish that his youngest brother, Sidy Useph, was older, as he did not doubt but that a few years would correct his fiery temper (he being now about seventeen). He said, "though my "brother is so mad now, he will be, if he lives "a few years longer, a great man." The looks of some of his officers expressed their great regret at the Bey's thinking so mildly of Sidy Useph, whom they suspect of harbouring the worst intentions towards his brother.

Sidy Useph's courteous manner to his brothers, and the high favour he at present enjoys with the Bashaw, is the talk of every one. No one else gives credit to Sidy Useph's professions; but the Bashaw places implicit confidence in all he says. The Bashaw a few days ago observed to his courtiers, that Sidy Useph never speaks to him against his brothers, while he is continually hearing of Sidy Useph's offences from the Bey and Sidy Hamet; but, from Sidy Useph's conduct, most people think that it is only to gain favour with the Bashaw, and by that means to augment his own power.

The Bey's dress to-day was lighter than usual, on account of the extreme heat. The Bey's

mamelukes were more shewy than any other persons in his train : besides the lustre of their arms, their habits were covered with gold and silver, and fitted close to their bodies. They wore no turbans, but had in general black and gold shawls wound tight round a scarlet cap, and one end of the shawl, entirely of gold, hung low over the left shoulder.

When they left the palace, as a compliment to the Christians, the Bey and his suite raced with their usual swiftness for some time before they departed.

Sidy Hamet went out to the sands yesterday with his people, without either of his brothers (it being now the fast of Ramadan, the princes ride daily) : he called on us as he returned from the sands, and rested for a long time. Only one of his officers accompanied him into the room, and the rest remained in the garden. Sidy Hamet acknowledges that Sidy Useph's power increases, as well as that of every body under him ; but his expression was, "the Bashaw lives, and while he lives we are to consider ourselves safe." The Bey (he says) cannot attempt to increase his own forces without an appearance of rebellion ; and Sidy Useph's man-

ners are extremely changed, not merely to the Bey, but his conduct in the castle does not leave any reason for complaint. He concluded by saying, "with the Prophet all things are possible, he may have changed Sidy Useph's heart." The ideas of the chief officers of state are, that the family are all of them afraid of each other; and they express the most dismal forebodings on the occasion. They say, the long and quiet reign of the Bashaw, for upwards of thirty years, has rendered the people so peaceable and so attached to the whole of the royal family, that no treasonable plots against any parts of it can be dreaded from them; and that if the princes are determined to act unfairly against each other, or against their father, they must call in the assistance of the Arabs, for they say, the "Wield el Bled" (sons of the town) will not assist them.

Sidy Useph has lately married a young lady of Turkish extraction. Her mother is extremely sensible, and remarked by the whole country for her honourable principles; but she is proud, ambitious, and fond of meddling in politics. It is feared, therefore, by many, from the great influence she has already gained over Sidy Useph, that she may rather increase than

diminish the violence of his measures. Neither Sidy Useph's bride, nor her mother, are in the confidence of Lilla Halluma or the princesses, who are afraid of both of them, and speak to them with the greatest caution and reserve.

Sidy Hamet speaks in the highest terms of the fidelity of his own people. He says, though they are few, they are all attached to him, and as he has nothing to ask of them that is forbidden by the Koran, he has a right to expect their support. On the other hand, it is not uncommon, when the Moors speak of Sidy Hamet, and declare their apprehensions of his danger, to see a tear accompany their professions of loyalty.

June 1, 1790.

We have had for some days a dreadful heat* in the atmosphere, which no description can

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* Sometimes the heat becomes insupportable, and the thermometer suddenly rises twelve degrees. The inhabitants call this season *Kampsin*, fifty. It seldom blows three days together, and sometimes is only an impetuous whirlwind, which rapidly passes, and injures only the traveller overtaken in the deserts.

Savary's Egypt, vol. ii. p. 217.

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give an idea of to those who have not been in this climate. During the excess of it, after we had been for some hours watching the slow progress of a caravan over the sands, we were shocked at the horrible state it arrived in. For want of water many had died, and others were in so languishing a state, as to expire before any could be administered to save them from the parching thirst occasioned by the heat. The state of the animals was truly shocking; gasping and faint, they could hardly be made

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When these winds blow, the atmosphere assumes an alarming appearance. The sky, at other times so clear in this climate, becomes dark and heavy; the sun loses his splendour, and assumes a violet colour; the air, though not cloudy, is grey and thick, and is filled with a subtle dust, which penetrates every where. This wind, always light and rapid, is not at first very hot, but it increases in heat in proportion as it continues. All animated bodies soon perceive it by the change it produces; the lungs, which a too rarified air no longer expands, are contracted and painful; breathing is short and difficult, the skin parched and dry, and the body consumed by an internal heat. In vain is recourse had to large draughts of water; nothing can restore perspiration, nor can coolness be found; all bodies in which it is usual to find it, deceive the hand that touches them. Marble, iron, water, though the sun no longer appears, are hot. The streets are forsaken, and the dead silence of the night universally prevails.

Volney's Travels in Egypt, vol. i p 48.

to crawl to their several destinations, many dying on their way. This destructive heat lasted seven days, since which the weather has become as pleasant as it was then horrible.

We have just returned from a long ride, during which we passed a place called the Acas, from a tribe of Arabs of that name who inhabit it, and who have all the Bashaw's sheep and cattle confided to their care and management. At this place, a chaoux always meets the Bey when he arrives from the camp, and presents him with a new caftan, as a compliment from the Bashaw, at an ancient castle, where the Bey goes through the ceremony of receiving it and putting it on, and then makes a considerable present to the chaoux in return.

The castle is still very strong, and was once formidable to the Moors themselves when in possession of their enemies, at the time the Emperor Charles the Fifth gave Tripoli to the Knights of Rhodes, after their expulsion from the Island of Rhodes by the Turks, in 1522.*

* The grand master, after incredible efforts of courage, of patience, and of military conduct, during a siege of six

From 1311, when this order, under the name of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem,* became a military order, fifty-one years after they had opened a house in Jerusalem for the reception of pilgrims, their name did not lose its terror in this part of the world. A period of more than four hundred years had not obliterated the horrors of the crusades; and the Moors beheld, with terror and dismay, the Maltese gallies commanded by the successors of the Knights of Jerusalem, continually committing ravages round their coast. During these depredations, while the Knights of Rhodes were settled in the town of Tripoli, a celebrated Moorish corsair, not being able to land on the

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six months; after sustaining many assaults, and disputing every post with amazing obstinacy, was obliged at last to yield to numbers; and having obtained an honourable capitulation from the Sultan, who admired and respected his virtues, he surrendered the town, which was reduced to a heap of rubbish and destitute of every resource. Charles and Francis, ashamed of having occasioned such a loss in Christendom, endeavoured to throw the blame of it on each other, while all Europe, with greater justice, imputed it equally to both.

Robertson's Charles V. vol. ii. p. 180.

* Vertot, Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte, liv. iv. p. 103.—Liv. x. p. 575. *Amst.* 1732.

coast and relieve his countrymen, on account of the Maltese being in possession of the above-mentioned castle, he determined to take or destroy it. For this purpose he brought his gallies to that part of the coast opposite the castle, which stands a great way inland. In the night he caused the gallies to be dragged on shore, and brought by their crews as far over land as they could, where he made them serve as a fortification from which to fire on the Maltese, and from thence he mined the rock to the castle. This dislodged the Maltese without blowing it up, when the corsair entered, and gained still greater advantage from possessing it in a perfect state. This man's extraordinary ideas of bringing his gallies over land, and his great success, gained such credit in those days, that the Maltese gave him the name of *Chasse Diable*, and the Moors that of *Rais Draieco*, or dragon captain. The ground at a great distance from this castle sounds frightfully hollow under the horses' feet. The Moors say in some parts it is mined almost to the surface. Rais Draieco was at this time made Cyde of Tajoura.

June 2, 1790.

To our very great surprise, the Bey, Sidy Hamet, and Sidy Useph, rode on the sands together to-day. The Bey's people were nearly double the number he has in general with him, while Sidy Hamet and Sidy Useph's attendants were not near so numerous as usual.

The Bey's friends are much alarmed for his safety, and are very sorry to see him so reconciled to Sidy Useph. When they wish to caution him, the Bey's language is: that Sidy Useph has no power to injure him, as he can bring in no Arabs without his father's leave; and as the Bashaw's life is expected to terminate daily, he will not have it on his conscience to shorten its duration. The people, he says, know and acknowledge the throne to be his; therefore, while his brothers do not openly molest him, it is time enough when the Bashaw's life is ended to set limits to their power and possessions; "and then," continued he, "unless they aim at the throne, they will have every reason to be satisfied with what I shall do for them."

The Bey depends on the vigilance of his

people to guard his person from treachery; and it is impossible for them to give greater proofs of attachment to him, or to be more on the alert than they are. Those who are not at the palace with the Bey, keep watch at night in their own houses, in case of the least alarm at the castle, and this they do without any orders from their prince.

The Bashaw is going to send out a force to settle some accounts with the Arabs; and yesterday one of the famous marabuts went to the castle to pray for the Bashaw, as they do sometimes on public occasions, when every body present prays with him. This man, in his prayers, conveyed political advice to the Bashaw (a liberty these holy men sometimes take); saying, if a force was sent out to the Arabs, at present, it would ruin the country, as all the Bashaw's troops were wanted at home; that the Bashaw must not think of sending Sidy Useph on any account; if he did, he would repent it when it was too late. The Bashaw advised the marabut not to open his mouth again upon that subject, and scolded the saint very much. Mustapha Scrivan, the Bashaw's first minister, whispered to the sovereign, endeavouring to soften the matter, by saying; it was not proper

to speak to this marabut so severely in public, he being one of their greatest saints; but the Bashaw told the Scrivan, that if he heard the marabut say another word on that head, both the marabut and himself should repent it. This silenced them; and the marabut, in solemn prayers, finished his oration, without touching on political subjects.

We are preparing to return to town, owing to an unpleasant and alarming affair. The princes have been out with their people on the sands almost every day since we have been here; sometimes all three together; sometimes two; and often only one of them. Some days ago, the Bey and Sidy Useph rode out in company. The Bey, as usual, had the whole of his people with him, and Sidy Useph very few of his. When they returned, Sidy Useph stopped at his own garden, close to where we reside: when the Bey had left the sands, we heard the report of a pistol from Sidy Useph's garden, and in the same instant an exclamation that the Bey was shot. Our being at the Bashaw's palace increased our alarm, from the circumstance of not being able to shut the gates against Sidy Useph, with the Moors and Arabs, who would have joined him and rushed in with him. The person

who had fired at the Bey from Sidy Useph's garden, could not be found amongst the crowd. The Bey's suite were enraged against Sidy Useph: they said, as there were but two parties out, the wretch who had aimed at the Bey's life could only be a creature of Sidy Useph's. The Bey, incensed and persuaded by his people, proceeded to his brother's garden, but seeing Sidy Useph waiting to receive him with the greatest appearance of cordiality, he turned to his own officers, and said to one of them who was near him: "his blood shall not be upon my "head; this ball may have been fired by some "one unknown to him, out of a blind zeal "to serve his cause; if he refuse to go with "me to the altars of our Prophet and take the "oaths for our mutual protection, he will be "then our acknowledged enemy, and if he "must fall, let him fall by open vengeance, not "by treachery." When Sidy Useph saw the Bey enter his garden, he came forward to meet him, and ordered his servants to search for the offender, whether amongst his people or the Beys. He readily agreed to go to the marabut and swear at the altar, and gave no reason to suspect that he was privy to this diabolical act. Many days have passed since this event, but the Bey and Sidy Useph have not yet been to the marabut to confirm their oaths.

June 12, 1790.

Sidy Useph is gone out to his cyderies, or government, and is expected back in a few weeks. Every thing has been perfectly quiet since his departure; but we shall set off for town in a few days, as it is thought too dangerous to remain here on Sidy Useph's return.

August 2, 1790.

It is some time since we returned to town from the Bashaw's palace in the country, whence my last letter to you was dated. At our return all was calm and quiet. The Bashaw, the Bey, and Sidy Hamet went to the marabut's together; and, during our late visits to the castle, we have found Lilla Halluma and the princesses happy, in comparison to what they were when we left town. There was only a little anxiety apparent to know how Sidy Useph was engaged whilst out of Tripoli; but that no person in or out of Tripoli could divine. It was thought by the family that Sidy Useph went out only to gather his tributes from his cyderies; but it was suspected by many that he was going about to the chiefs of the Arabs to engage them in his interest against his father and the Bey. After his

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return, he remained at the Bashaw's garden in the Messeah, and at the palace at which we were, whence he went at different times, apparently in the most amicable manner, to visit the rest of the Royal Family at the castle; and no one suspected the scene he meant so soon to bring forward. Sidy Useph's success in a plot so diabolically laid against the Bey, is amongst those wonders which cannot be accounted for. Tired of waiting longer for the annihilation of the Bey, he came to town, more determined and better prepared to complete the dreadful act than he had been before. He brought with him his chosen blacks whom he had well instructed. The moment he entered the castle, he proceeded to his mother Lilla Halluma's apartments, to whom he declared his fixed intention of "making peace" with his eldest brother, and entreated her to forward his wishes by sending for the Bey to complete their reconciliation in her presence. Lilla Halluma transported with the idea of seeing her sons again united, as she flattered herself, in the bonds of friendship, sent instantly to the Bey, who was in Lilla Aisher's (his wife) apartment, a confidential message informing him that his brother Sidy Useph was with her without arms and waiting to make peace with him; that she

would herself join their hands together; and that, by the Bashaw's head, the Bey, if he loved her, would come to her directly unarmed. The Bey, actuated by the first impulse, armed himself with his pistols and sabre, to obey the summons.

Lilla Aisher knowing the impartial tenderness of Lilla Halluma for all her children, was sure no open danger could threaten his life: her only apprehensions were from secret plots, but this the Bey would never listen to. At the present moment, Lilla Aisher trembled for fear a report of the Bey's passing through the harem, to Lilla Halluma, with so hostile an appearance, so contrary to the rules of it, might give a pretext for the Bey's being treacherously assaulted by Sidy Useph's people; she, therefore, observed to him, that as he was going to his mother's apartments, where it was at all times sacrilege (according to the laws of Mahomet) to carry arms, his going there armed, after the message Lilla Halluma had sent him, would seem as if he meant to assassinate his brother, and thereby draw the vengeance of the castle upon him. The Bey, after hesitating a moment, unarmed himself, embraced Lilla Aisher, and was departing, when she threw herself at his feet, and,

presenting him his sabre, entreated him not, however, to depart wholly defenceless ; and she would not let him go till he had yielded to her supplications. When the Bey came to his mother's room, she, perceiving his sabre, begged of him (assuring him his brother had no arms) to lay it aside before they entered into conversation. The Bey, to whom there could not appear the smallest reason for suspicion, willingly delivered his sabre to his mother, who placed it upon a window near which they stood ; and she, feeling convinced of the integrity of the Bey's intentions, and being completely deceived in those of Sidy Useph, led the two princes to the sofa, and seating herself between them, held a hand of each in her's ; and, as she afterwards declared to us, " looking at them alternately, she prided herself on having thus at last brought them together to make peace at her side."

The Bey, as soon as they were seated, endeavoured to convince his brother, that, though he came to go through the ceremony of making peace, yet there was not the least occasion for it on his part ; for that, as he had no longer sons of his own, he considered Sidy Useph and his brother as such, and would always treat

them as a father whenever he succeeded to the throne. Sidy Useph declared himself satisfied, but observed, that, to make Lilla Halluma completely happy, there could be no objection, after such professions of friendship from the Bey, to seal their peace with sacred oaths upon the Koran. The Bey replied, "with all his heart;" that "he was ready:"—upon which Sidy Useph rose quickly from his seat, and called loudly for the Koran—the word he had given to his eunuchs for his pistols, two of which were brought and put into his hands; when he instantly discharged one of them at his brother, seated by his mother's side. The pistol burst, and Lilla Halluma extending her hand to save the Bey, had her fingers shattered by the splinters of it. The ball entered the Bey in the side: he arose, however, and seizing his sabre from the window made a stroke at his brother, but only wounded him slightly in the face; upon which Sidy Useph discharged the second pistol, and shot the Bey through the body.

What added to the affliction of Lilla Halluma at this tragical event, was, that the Bey, erroneously supposing that she had betrayed him, exclaimed after being wounded, "Ah! Madam, "is this the last present you have reserved for

your eldest son?" From her favourite son, what must these words have produced in the breast of the mother! Sidy Useph, upon seeing his brother fall, instantly called to his blacks, saying, "There lies the Bey—finish him!" In a moment they dragged him from the spot where he was yet breathing, and discharged their pieces into him.* Lilla Aisher hearing the sudden dreadful sound, broke from her women who endeavoured to keep her from the sight, and springing into the room, clasped her bleeding husband in her arms; while Lilla Halluma, in endeavouring to prevent Sidy Useph from disfiguring the body, fainted over it from agony of mind. Five of Sidy Useph's blacks were at the same moment stabbing it as it lay on the floor; after which miserable triumph of their master, they fled with him.

This wanton barbarity, in thus mangling the Bey's remains, produced the most distressing spectacle. Lilla Aisher, at this sight of horror, stripped off all her jewels and rich apparel, and throwing them into the Bey's blood, took from the blacks the worst baracan amongst them,

* The Bey had eleven balls in him when he died; one in his head, three in his left arm, and seven in his side.

making that serve for her whole covering. Thus habiting herself as a common slave, and ordering those around her to cover her with ashes, she went in that state directly to the Bashaw, and said to him, "that, if he did not wish to see her poison herself and her children, he must give immediate orders that she might quit the castle, for that she would not live to look on the walls of it, nor to walk over the stones that could no longer be seen for the Bey's blood with which they were covered."

As Sidy Useph left the castle he met Bey Abdallah, the great chiah, a venerable officer, the first in power, and beloved by the people. This officer, seeing the dreadful state in which Sidy Useph was, expressed his fear that something fatal had happened. Bey Abdallah was known to be particularly attached to the Bashaw's family ;* and, from his religious principles, could not be supposed to approve of this day's deeds The moment, therefore, Sidy Useph saw him, he stabbed him to the heart, and the chiah instantly expired. Sidy Useph's blacks,

* Bey Abdallah, the adopted son of Hamet the Great. He married a daughter of that sovereign, sister to Mohammed Bashaw, and aunt to the present Bashaw.

who were following him, threw the body into the street, before the castle gate, and the hampers (the Bashaw's guards), who were standing by, conveyed it to his unhappy family. It was buried at the same hour with the Bey. Sidy Useph had been three times into town to perpetrate this dreadful deed. The last time, he came at an hour he expected to find the Bey unarmed and alone; but meeting him, on the contrary, armed and surrounded with his people, he kissed his hand; and after paying him the usual compliments, returned disappointed to his residence at the Bashaw's garden. On the 20th of last month he, however, accomplished the act, and nothing could then equal the confusion of this place. The people hurried in distressed groups through the streets, with their families and cattle, endeavouring to reach the city gates and quit the town, not knowing where the scene of havoc at the castle would end; and numbers crowded into our house besides those who had a right to shelter there from being under the protection of the flag. One of our dragomen met Sidy Useph with his trowsers and bernuse stained with blood. He was followed close by his blacks, and riding full speed from the castle through the city gate, dreading at the moment the vengeance of the

people. Various were the reports of the Bey's existence for several hours. When the people were certain of his death, they began to arm, and passed through the streets in great numbers; the Arabs and Gibeleens with their long guns and knives, and the Moors with their pistols and sabres, making to the inhabitants a most terrific appearance; each dreading to meet an enemy in his neighbour, and not knowing what party he was of.

The general alarm in town made it necessary to shut the consular houses. Ours had been closed but a few minutes, when two of the Bey's officers hurried in despair to the door, and intreated us to let them in; expecting, as they said, to be massacred every moment by those attached to Sidy Useph, for being the favourites of their late master. One of them was Sidy Hasseen, the nephew of the ambassador, Hadgi Abderrahman, whom you have seen in England. His feelings for the fate of the Bey were so acute, that he would have sunk on the floor had not our people supported him. In a moment after he entered our house, the Bey's funeral passed, and Hasseen instantly rose to join the procession, determined (as he said) to pay the last attention in

his power to the Bey's remains, by supporting his coffin ;* though he thought it so hazardous, that he had not the least expectation of reaching the grave alive. He called to the other officer to accompany him; but he declined it, saying it was only sacrificing their lives to no purpose; and Hasseen went by himself.

The Bey was buried at three o'clock in the afternoon :—the short space of little more than four hours had witnessed the Bey in the bloom of health—in the midst of his family—murdered—and buried !

The colours at the consular houses were hoisted half-mast high, as soon as the Bey's death was announced; and all the ships that were in the harbour fired minute guns till he was interred, when the colours were hoisted up and the ships fired a salute of twenty-one guns.

The Bey's widow freed every slave that followed his remains; but the people were so panic-struck, that the Moors of the highest rank

* This action, besides being deemed by the Moors an expiation for crimes, is likewise considered the greatest respect that can be paid to the departed.

seemed afraid to follow the body ; and few accompanied it besides those who were ordered by the Bashaw to do so.

So little judgment could be formed of the Bashaw's state of mind at this critical moment, that the shaik could not act in any way without sending first to the castle for orders, and waiting to hear from the Bashaw until he thought the town unsafe. Such was the agitation and dread the whole mass of people were in.

As soon as the Bey was interred, chaouxes went through the town, proclaiming an order from the Bashaw for every one to be silent, not to assemble in the streets on pain of his displeasure, and to fear nothing. The chaouxes' words were, " To the Bey who is gone, God give a happy resurrection ;" and " none of his late servants shall be molested or hurt." But to the surprize of every one, with this order no Bey was proclaimed, which was unprecedented ; as, at the moment a Bashaw or Bey expires, his successor is expected to be announced.

Sidy Hamet was from Tripoli when this shocking catastrophe happened ; but was in town

before night, and brought with him from Mesuratta* a chief of the Arabs (Shaik Alieff), and several hundreds of his people. They were encamped round the town during the night. Before Sidy Hamet reached town, however, the Bashaw had sent one of his confidential officers to Sidy Useph, desiring him to come to the castle. On word being brought that he was afraid, the Bashaw sent him his beads,† to serve as a pledge for his safety. But even with this safeguard, Sidy Useph would not trust himself within the town.

When Sidy Hamet arrived with his Arabs, he went immediately to the Bashaw, who was so much alarmed at seeing him come into his presence armed, that he expressed his displeasure at it; but Sidy Hamet observed, that he had that moment seen the officers whom the Bashaw had sent with his beads, to render the person of

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* At Mesuratta, Sidy Useph has been rejected as Cyde very lately, on account of his extortions and persecutions the last time he was sent there by the Bashaw.

† The beads by which the Bashaw says his prayers are considered so strong a talisman in the hands of the greatest criminal, that they render his life sacred while they are in his possession.

Sidy Useph sacred, after he had *cut the Bey in pieces!* "This, then," said he, "is a moment when no person or action can be understood: every way is dark and uncertain, and therefore requires a strong guard, for fear of stumbling."

Sidy Hamet retired to his apartment, where, fatigued with travelling and overcome with agitation, he fainted upon the sofa. This accident happening so soon after his arrival at the castle, gave rise to a report that he had been poisoned, and threw the town again into confusion for some hours during the evening.

Were I not writing from a country where the ideas and manners are so totally different from those you are accustomed to, I should almost fear that you could not credit the following account of Sidy Useph's conduct. The grave was scarcely closed over the brother he had mutilated, when he sent to town for Jews and a turbuka*, to make a feast at the Bashaw's garden, where he was. The sounds of music, firing, and women hired to sing and dance, were louder than at the feast of a wedding. This was soon known at the castle, when, dur-

* A sort of drum.

ing the atrocious circumstance, the Bashaw retired, giving orders for no one to approach him, till he called for them. From one of our rooms, which commands a view of a covered gallery leading to the Bashaw's apartments, we saw him seated, in deepest thought, alone!

Sidy Useph, during the above feast, sent word to Lilla Howia, widow of the murdered Chiah (whose garden is not far from that of the Bashaw), that if he heard her women scream for Bey Abdallah's death, he would have her instantly strangled. She therefore came to town, and performed the obsequies for her departed husband's remains, in company with the Bey's widow, at the castle.

At the time the Bashaw sent out his beads to Sidy Useph, he ordered his garden to be guarded by the four Shieks of the Messeah, to protect Sidy Useph from the rage of the people, who he thought might be inclined to resent the Bey's death.

The consuls kept additional guard on their houses, and the streets were more strictly watched than usual during the night.

The day following the Bey's murder, Sidy

Hamet (now Bey) went with two hundred horsemen to the Bashaw's garden, to have an interview with Sidy Useph, who had by this time extended his guards to the end of every street that led to the Bashaw's palace, at the gates of which he sat. His people stood in double line round him, under arms, and the wretched blacks, who helped him to assassinate the Bey, stood close at his side, not only armed, but with their blunderbusses pointed. A long time was spent in messages sent backwards and forwards, before the brothers met. It was at last agreed, that Sidy Useph should send all his people out of the garden, and that Sidy Hamet should enter it without his horsemen. They then had a long conversation, during which, each of the princes stood in the midst of a few of their chief officers, who formed a circle round them the whole of the time they were together.

After the Bey's death, Sidy Hamet, and every body in the place, in vain expected, from hour to hour, to hear him proclaimed Bey. Sidy Hamet was however silent: he could not have borne to hear the festive song, and the nubar sounding, whilst the Bey's widow, and every one in the castle, were performing the obsequies and the *death song* for the loss of the

Bey; but when the time was expired that was allotted for an act that could not be dispensed with, Sidy Hamet applied to the Bashaw, to order the ceremony of proclaiming him Bey. The Bashaw gave his consent; but on condition that *Sidy Useph would likewise give his!* Sidy Hamet, at this unexpected answer from the Bashaw, retired to his golphor for some hours, and his people could not persuade him to give up the strange resolution he had formed, of going, accompanied by a few attendants, to know Sidy Useph's sentiments. He entered the Bashaw's garden, where Sidy Useph was (with three hundred men under arms,) with only four of his officers, and told his brother that the Bashaw had consented to his being proclaimed Bey, but that if Sidy Useph, though the youngest and having no right to it, wished for the title, that he (Sidy Hamet) would cede it to him, without further bloodshed, and would swear by all the oaths directed by their Prophet never to molest him. Sidy Useph protested by the Bashaw's head, that he had killed the Bey only because he had quarrelled with him, and not because he wished to succeed him; that he was ready to acknowledge Sidy Hamet as Bey; and that he disclaimed, on his part, all pretensions to the throne.

After this extraordinary interview, Sidy Hamet returned to town, and received from the Bashaw, a new caftan*, and the late Bey's horses, slaves, arms, &c. &c. and was proclaimed Bey on the 29th July. The castle guns were fired, the nubar played, and the Moorish colours and those of all the nations here were hoisted, and all the consuls went to the castle to compliment him on the occasion.

Before a week had elapsed after the Bey was murdered, his disconsolate widow was delivered of an infant, which, from its being a boy, was a renewal of affliction to its mother; for having no son living at the time of his death, she could not help reflecting on the joy the Bey would have expressed at her presenting him with an heir, and the cannon that would have announced through the kingdom the birth of her infant, formed in her distressed mind, too cruel a contrast to the mournful silence of the present moment. It hurt us extremely, when the messengers from the castle brought us the news, and

* A caftan, among the Turks and Moors, is a mark of royal favour bestowed by the sovereign on many different occasions. The Grand Signior sends one to the different courts of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, on the birth of his son, which great presents are returned.

added, that they wanted no *buona mano**, but were sent by their Lilla, only because she thought we should be anxious for her safety.

The state of the town and of the castle is at present so precarious, that it has precluded the possibility of our seeing the family since the Bey's death. The series of tragical and extraordinary events during the last eight days, have made my letter longer than I intended; but as there is no prospect of our quitting this place for the present, and as these events are much connected with what I may have to write to you hereafter, I have determined to send you a full account of them as they pass.

August 30, 1790.

Sidy Hamet has been out again to visit, at the Bashaw's garden, Sidy Useph, who still keeps a great number of men under arms. Sidy Hamet went to advise him to send the blacks who as-

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* It is customary at the birth of the Bey's sons, particularly of the heir to the throne, as in the above case, to give a present of money to those who bring the news, which is called a *buona mano*, and some handsome article of dress is presented to the mother of the prince from each of the consuls.

sisted in the murder of his brother to the great marabut,* merely to content the people, who were not only enraged with them on account of the unfortunate Bey, but on account of their forcing their way into the Harem, which is considered as a violence that every Moor ought to resent, as they cannot reckon their women safe while such an outrage is suffered to go unnoticed.

Sidy Useph, however, seems to act entirely independent of the Bashaw and the Bey. He has ordered his people to massacre the late Bey's servants wherever they meet with them, and has sent to the Bashaw to desire that an officer, named Bourga, might be ordered to surrender up some beautiful arms the late Bey had given him, which was done. Sidy Useph then went to the garden of Sidy Bourga's ukiel, or steward, and took away some fine horses which were likewise a present from the Bey. The Bashaw, in consequence of these liberties taken by Sidy Useph, has ordered him not to come to the castle armed; but notwithstanding this order, when Sidy Useph came into town, a few days

* Where criminals go for protection, or to screen themselves from justice.

since, to congratulate Sidy Hamet on being proclaimed Bey, he brought with him two hundred men under arms: they remained, however, outside of the castle, where they were very near murdering a Mameluke belonging to the Bashaw, who had fired his piece unintentionally. He would not have escaped but for the friendly hand of a common Moor who stood by him, and threw a black baracan over him, by which means he saved himself.

The place the unfortunate Bey Abdallah held of Great Chiah is now filled by Hadgi Murat, the husband of the eldest princess, who refused taking it, unless the cyderia, or government of Sahal, which he had, was given to his son: this was done, but no sooner had the nuba played* and the guns fired for his promotion, than the cyderia was taken from his son, and a favourite of Sidy Useph's, Ali Napolitan, a renegado, made cyde of Sahal. As the chiahship of Tripoli is honorary and produces no emolu-

* The nuba, or royal band, is allowed to be played at the creation of a Bey, a Chiah, and a Rais of the marine, governor of the port, otherwise it plays only for the Bashaw. None of the sons have a nuba but the Bey, and that only when he goes out to the camp.

ment, Hadgi Murat had reckoned on supporting the dignity of his family with the cyderia of Sahal. He consequently attempted to shoot himself in the presence of the Bashaw, who had been induced from the danger of the times thus to deceive him and distress the family of his own child. The Bashaw considered Hadgi Murat the only safe person to trust with the important post of Great Chiah; but he could not refuse Sidy Useph the cyderia of Sahal for his favourite renegado.

Sidy Useph is still so much on his guard and so alarmed, that besides his people watching close by him under arms while he sleeps during any part of the day, the garden of the palace where he is is kept shut, and no one can get in or out without application to himself.

When Sidy Useph went last to the castle, the Bashaw desired Sidy Hamet, though Bey, to go to the skiffer and meet him: a compliment not paid from the Bey even to the princes of Morocco, when they come here. Another message was sent to Lilla Halluma to meet Sidy Useph in her apartment, and to receive him without signs of grief or mourning. The same orders were sent to all the princesses

and their children, the Bey's widow only excepted.

Sidy Useph has in his suite a person of a very bad character, a famous or rather infamous marabut, of the name of Fatasie, who to command more homage calls himself a Fatamite.* It is now said this wretch instigated Sidy Useph to the murder of the Bey.

September, 1790.

Sidy Useph still keeps away from the town, notwithstanding the Bashaw sends him repeated messages to come and reside in the castle. The Bashaw is very uneasy at his remaining out of it, and at his making so many excursions to the Arabs.

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* The Fatamites are the descendants of *Fathimah*, daughter of Mahomet and Aischale, born at Mecca five years previous to her father's passing for a prophet: she died six months after him in the city of Medina, aged only twenty-eight years. She married Ali, first cousin of Mahomet, and was mother of Hassan and Houssain. The Mussulmans consider her as a most virtuous woman, and her descendants are still held in the greatest veneration.

D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orientale.

Sidy Useph, at present pays frequent visits to the castle, but always leaves his soldiers without the city gates: his wife and family continue to live out of town.

Since the Bey's death, Sidy Useph's disposition develops more and more, and he is as whimsical as he is arbitrary: of this he gave a proof in the following instance a few days ago. The Bashaw had a full grown lion and two very large tigers brought from Algiers, for presents to the Grand Signior. They were confined in separate large cages, strongly made of wood and iron. Sidy Useph sent to desire that the Maltese slaves (almost all invalided old men) might be made to carry each cage out to him at the Bashaw's garden on their shoulders. This was done at the serious risk of those who carried the animals, to save Sidy Useph a short ride into town.

October 18, 1790.

Since my last, Sidy Useph has continued his visits frequently to the castle. Previous to the Bey and Sidy Useph being at variance, and long before the late Bey's death, they took the sacred oaths of allegiance to each other at the shrines

of their saints; and they went together a short time since to renew and confirm their oaths in a still stronger manner, by performing the last ceremony resorted to in this country of, what they term, the mixing of blood. To accomplish this barbarous idea, they approached together the altar of Mahomet, and after swearing by the Koran each to hold the other's life sacred, they wounded themselves with their knives, and mixing their blood in a vessel, shocking to relate, they both sipped of it.

The procession for this purpose was extremely grand: the princes were attended by every chief officer and person of consequence in Tripoli.

The whole corps of chaouxes preceded the Bey, and loudly proclaimed him as they went through the town, as is usual in all public processions of either the Bashaw or Bey.

The princes after going to the marabuts continued together, and went out of town to spend the day in company at Sidy Useph's garden. Sidy Useph was attended by four hundred horsemen, and besides his own chief officers, most of those belonging to the Bashaw followed him.

When the princes arrived at the garden, Sidy Useph brought his son, an infant, to Sidy Hamet, saying, "you see I trust you with my "boy; his infancy makes it impossible for him "to resent any thing that is done to him; take "him for an hostage; and I ask in return not "for your son, but only for your daughter, to "divert and keep my wife company." Sidy Hamet's daughter is a sweet little girl about five years old: he would not consent to her remaining many days at Sidy Useph's garden, but he agreed to her sleeping there that night. Besides the officers appointed to attend her, two of the people Sidy Hamet has the greatest confidence in, the selectar's brother and another Moor, had private charge of the princess, till she was brought back to the castle the next day.

The Bashaw's family remained in friendly intercourse with Sidy Useph's for several weeks, till he declared his intentions of going to his cyderies at Mozurata, after the Mezurateens had sent repeated messages to Sidy Hamet, as Bey, to say that they would not receive his brother on any terms, on account of the outrages committed by his people the last time he was there, but would accept cheerfully of any other governor he might chuse to send.

After several debates in the castle, the Bey refused his consent to his brother's going to Mezurata. Sidy Useph then proposed to send his people to treat with them. This was acceded to; but it was discovered that they had orders to fall on the Mezurateens and cut them to pieces if possible. The Bey seeing the danger of this step, as the Mezurateens might persuade the neighbouring Arabs to revenge such an act of injustice on the Bashaw, used his exertions again, and prevented the slaughter of the Mezurateens, and probably the loss of his throne.

Not long after this, Sidy Useph gained the Bashaw's consent for the Bey and himself to be sent out with a strong force, aided by the Arabs in the Bashaw's pay, against the Mezurateens. Sidy Hamet refused to go; and Shaik Saffanassa, one of the most powerful of the Arab tribes, sent a message to the Bashaw that he would not see the Mezurateens ill treated, and if he sent a force against them, he would attack the princes and would bring the pretender, Mustapha, from Tunis, (whose history I have before given you), or one of the Beys from Egypt, to take the throne.*

* The Beys of Egypt are considered the most likely persons to be deputed by the Grand Signior to replace or

Sidy Useph still persisting in his determination of going in person to his cyderia at Mezurata, and the Bashaw being equally desirous he should go, the Mezurateens sent one of their chief people to the Bey to say they would not see the man again who had taken away their property, had suffered his people to abuse their wives, sisters and daughters, and had murdered his brother; but that they would open their gates, by day or night, to himself, and if he chose to bring Sidy Useph to them, they should know what to do with him. The Mezurateens concluded by saying, that if the Bey would accede to their proposals, they would call in sufficient Arabs, and bring him safely back and set him on the throne of Tripoli. Treachery is certainly not a part of Sidy Hamet's character; he has not yet shewn it in any one instance; he did not, therefore, accept of the easy means presented to him by the Mezurateens of mounting the throne by shedding the blood of his relatives.

The Bashaw* became enraged at the prince's

succeed the sovereigns in Barbary, as it is one of the ways of his promoting them and rewarding their services to the Sublime Porte.

* The Turkish word Paschaw is formed of two Persian words *Pa-Schah*, which literally signifies viceroy.

Volney's Egypt, vol. ii. p. 78.

not going out as he ordered; and having sent several severe messages to the Bey, the Bey at length sent for the Caitibe (the first minister), and desired him to go to the Bashaw and tell him, he was resolved not to accompany his brother against the Mezurateens; that his people would support him; and that he would not lead them to be sacrificed in an unjust cause. If his life, he said, was to be forfeited on the present occasion, he would fall alone, without having the lives of his people to answer for.

The Caitibe, fearful of carrying such a message to the Bashaw, reminded Sidy Hamet that the late Bey lost his life for saying much less.

Sidy Hamet, hurt at the Caitibe's refusal, told him, if by bringing the Bey's death to his recollection he intended to frighten him into an approval of the measures, he was mistaken. "My brother," said he, "was off his guard—I am not. Hear me, Caitibe; if you know of any secret hand pointed against my life, let him be careful. My people, as I told you, are all mine; there is not a man amongst them who would spare one drop of his blood that he thinks can be of use to me. *Uras el Boui* (by my father's head), I order you to go;—deliver

my message instantly to him and bring me his answer."

The Caitibe, much against his inclination, carried Sidy Hamet's message to the Bashaw, and returned in a short time with an answer: "That the Bashaw would think about it; but must see the Bey and Sidy Useph at his levee that afternoon." Hadgi Hamet, the Bey's confidental attendant, was with his master during this interview with the Caitibe. When it was ended, Hadgi Hamet left the prince to execute some orders he had received, and returned to the castle in the greatest anxiety at the situation of Sidy Hamet, on which his own fate and that of his wife and children might depend, as is frequently the case with the favourites of Moorish princes.

Hadgi Hamet, instead of finding the Bey returned from the levee, and alone as he expected, found him with the Bashaw and Sidy Useph, and all of them much irritated. The Bashaw's people and those of the two princes were armed in the castle without orders, and no notice was taken of this circumstance (though against the rules of the palace) by the Bashaw or either of the princes: each of them seemed to approve

of their own people being in readiness. Hadgi Hamet, who was obliged soon to depart, placed himself opposite to the Bey, in hopes of getting a look or sign from him for further directions in case he meant to go with the forces; but this he despaired of till Sidy Hamet called to him to fasten his sash, which, while Hadgi Hamet was doing, the Bey told him all was unsettled, except his own determination, not to head the troops to Mezurata; but that at present his life depended "on the balance of a barley-corn." * He desired Hadgi Hamet to remain at the castle and watch till morning, saying he should not stop in the harem, but would return to his golphor and stay there all night.

From these events, the town was again in a state of alarm the whole evening; Mustapha Scrivan (the Caitibe), the Shaik and the Chiah were much agitated: and we were very sorry for Lilla Howisha, the second daughter of the Bashaw, a most amiable princess; for it was plain from the expression of the Caitibe, that her husband, the governor of the port, was safe from the confusion only at the castle, but that

* Barley-corns are used by the Moors to weigh diamonds.

his life was aimed at by the Caitibe or the Bashaw.

The next morning the Bashaw postponed sending out the troops. A few days before this event, and four days preceding the feast of Ramadan, the famous marabut who attends Sidy Useph prophecied at the castle, in presence of the court, that one of the late Bey's friends would make the first day of the Ramadan a day of revenge for his death. This prophecy occasioned no small consternation till the first day of the feast was passed.

If the town remains at all quiet, we shall attempt to go to the castle and see Lilla Halluma, which has not been practicable for Christians since the Bey's death!

October 25, 1790.

In the following account you will find a description of the visit of a Moorish princess and her family to the tomb of her husband. The Bey is buried in the royal turba (mausoleum), within the great mosque, both of which I have described to you in my former letters. According to the prevailing custom here, of pe-

riodically visiting the tombs of the dead, the late Bey's widow went from the castle yesterday, about sun-set, for that purpose. The way from the castle to the mosque was lined by the Bashaw's guards, and several of Sidy Hamet's officers attended. Many of the late Bey's officers were in sight, but durst not approach too near for fear of being observed by Sidy Useph's people, and thereby incurring his anger by publicly shewing their compassion for the Bey's widow.

The grave of the Bey had been previously strewed with fresh flowers for the second time that day; immense bouquets of the choicest the season could afford were placed within the turba or mausoleum, and Arabian jasmine threaded on shreds of the date-leaf were hung in festoons and large tassels over the tomb; additional lights were placed round it, and a profusion of scented waters was sprinkled over the floor of the mausoleum before Lilla Aisher entered the mosque. Her eldest daughter, the beautiful Zenobia, was not spared this dreadful ceremony; she accompanied her disconsolate mother, though this princess was so ill from the shock she received at her father's death that she is not expected to live.

What a thought to carry such an object as this to her father's grave! But the customs of the Moors drive them to despair; and instead of endeavouring to soften the hand of affliction, they are ingenious in finding out new horrors every hour to heighten their misfortune. Lilla Aisher's youngest daughter, not six years old, was likewise present at this scene of distress; and when this infant saw her mother weeping over the Bey's tomb, she held her by her baracan and screamed to her to let him out, refusing to let go her hold of her mother or the tomb (which she was clinging to at the same moment) till she saw the Bey again! The wretched Lilla Aisher, who went there in a state of the deepest dejection, was naturally so much afflicted at this scene of useless horror, heightened by the shrill screams of all her attendants (who were expected to pay the compliment to herself and their late master), that she fainted away, and was carried back senseless to the castle in the arms of her women.

Notwithstanding the Bey's refusal to take the command of the troops against the Mezurateens, as no proper measures have since been taken to reconcile those people, it is now feared his

going will be unavoidable.* Shaik Saffanassa, the most powerful chief of the Arab tribes, favours the cause of the Mezurateens, while Shaik Alieff is in the Bashaw's pay. The latter has promised to join the princes; but the people suspect that when they are out he will betray them and join Saffanassa and the Mezurateens.

Preparations have been carried on with the greatest expedition, during the last two or three

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* The Bashaw's policy towards the wandering Arabs, who inhabit the provinces of Mesulata and Garian, is not a little calculated to illustrate his general system of politics. As might be expected from a people living almost in a state of nature, they have frequent quarrels amongst each other. Aware of the danger which might arise from suffering these poor warlike people to become united, the respective Caids, or Governors of his Highness, have directions to excite them to gaming, until they have recourse to arms. It is by such means that his Highness's government is alone supported; for if these people were united, valuing themselves on that insatiable love of liberty peculiar to them, and naturally brave, they might with facility set the Bashaw at defiance. In the foregoing method of governing the unfortunate Arabs, his Highness seems to give us a lesson upon the way we should treat the Barbary states as a collective body.

Blaquiere's Letters, vol. ii. p. 99.

days, for the camp, which the Bey at last agrees to head, and Sidy Useph goes as second in command.

We went yesterday to the castle, and parted, as usual, with the gentlemen who accompanied us, at the Bagnio where the Christian slaves are kept. I have observed to you there are but few slaves here, and those chiefly Maltese, some very old and infirm; but as we are always obliged to pass them, it is a great alleviation to our feelings on their account, to see them easy and well dressed: and so far from wearing chains, as captives do in most other places, that they are here perfectly at liberty.

Near the Bagnio we found the eunuchs waiting, who accompanied us with lights through the passages to the Harem. Lilla Halluma was standing at the door of her own apartment; she was leaning on the arm of Fatima, the third princess, and widow of the Bey of Derner; one of the blacks stood close by the other side of her, with a new silk handkerchief put over her shoulder, on which Lilla Halluma rested her head. I must remark to you that Lilla Halluma has never been seated (unless from illness) when we have first approached

ner; for, as her dignity will not permit her rising to receive those who visit her, her delicacy and affability make her avoid, as often as she can, this distinction; and except the compliment of saluting her in the manner of her country, which cannot be dispensed with, she lays aside all further ceremony. After the married ladies had kissed her head, and the rest her hand, as usual, she desired her ladies to conduct us to Lilla Aisher, the Bey's widow; saying she would herself join us directly.

We found Lilla Aisher, as we expected, very melancholy.* According to the customs of the East, her dress bespoke the state of her mind; deprived of all its lustre, by methods taken to deface every article before she put it on. She wore neither ear-rings, bracelets, nor halhals round the ankles, nor ornaments of any kind except the string of charms round her neck. The moment she saw us she burst into

* They have no particular colour appropriated to mourning; their grief for the loss of relations is a sensation of the heart they do not attempt to express by outward symbols. Women go regularly on the Friday to weep over, and pray at, the sepulchres of the dead, whose memory they hold dear.

Chenier's State of Morocco, vol. i. p. 292.

tears, and one of her blacks was going to scream; but Lilla Aisher had the presence of mind to prevent her, as such a circumstance would have thrown the whole harem into confusion, and frightened Lilla Halluma, besides renewing her distress. Lilla Aisher's two daughters were with her: the eldest, Lilla Zenobia, is so strong a likeness of the late unfortunate Bey, that it was distressing to look at her. She had lost all her vivacity, and was the fixed image of grief, rendered more interesting by her extreme beauty.

In a short time after we had entered the apartment, the blacks came to say, Lilla Halluma was in the adjoining galleries, coming to see Lilla Aisher. The Bey's widow rose and hurried out to meet her, having first desired her blacks to darken the room on account (as she had been telling us) of Lilla Halluma not bearing the light since the Bey's death. To render you better acquainted with Lilla Halluma's state of mind, before I say more of her, and the singular manners of this place, I must inform you of some circumstances Lilla Aisher had just been relating to us.

During the Bey's life, Lilla Aisher (from her

proximity to the throne) was very jealous of her own dignity in the castle, and sometimes thought the princesses did not shew her a proper deference, which occasioned a slight degree of coolness between her and the family; but Lilla Halluma's tenderness to her since the Bey's death, and their mutual afflictions, have rendered these royal mourners inseparable friends. Lilla Halluma's sufferings were so aggravated by the cruel impression the Bey's last words (suspecting her of betraying him) had made upon her feelings, that her life was despaired of. From the superstition that prevails in this country, Lilla Aisher thought of an expedient which proved her knowledge of the human heart, her affection for Lilla Halluma, and the ingenuity of her own invention, by which she has relieved Lilla Halluma from a state of distress that threatened the loss of her senses, or her life. Lilla Aisher, to effect her plan, sent a message one morning (previous to the second Friday after the Bey's death) to request of Lilla Halluma a private audience, saying she must speak to her directly, and quite alone. When they met, Lilla Aisher told her, that as the widow of the murdered Bey, she came to implore her not to heap additional sorrows on her head, by thus persecuting the

spirit of her departed lord. Such an address increased Lilla Halluma's sufferings; she asked her in the greatest agony to explain what she had said. Lilla Aisher replied, she had last night seen the Bey, who had no hope of joining the celestial assembly of departed spirits on the approaching Friday,* unless his mind was tranquillized, which was impossible while his mother's lamentations reached him beyond the grave, and justly reproached him for having in his last moments, for an instant, thought such a mother could have betrayed him—that being out of this world he had been shewn the truth, and was now wandering among the tombs of his ancestors, in the same disconsolate state in which Lilla Halluma was exploring the castle, and renewed his grief in proportion as she did hers every moment—that he was permitted to send his beloved parent only this one message from the grave, and that he should enjoy all the blessings of a happy departed spirit the moment she recovered her tranquillity, and be-

* Alluding to the feast which is imagined to be held by the spirits of the departed in the burial places on Friday evenings (the Sabbath of the Moors); and it is for this cause the Moors are so anxious to dress their dead as richly as they can afford.

lieved his affections for her the same as they had ever been during his life.

This ingenious and affectionate expedient of Lilla Aisher's had the desired effect. Though she could not entirely suppress her sorrows, Lilla Halluma became more reasonable and partook of food, from which she had before almost entirely refrained.

But to return to the subject whence I began this digression. Lilla Aisher and Lilla Fatima entered the room with Lilla Halluma and led her to the sofa. As soon as she was seated, Lilla Aisher's children knelt to kiss her hand; for which purpose she presented them the hand that was wounded when the Bey was killed, and which was still bound up and in a sling. Her hand is terribly mangled, but her finger was saved, as the splinters of the pistol struck against her ring.

The custom here, to dwell upon and nourish the recollection of misfortunes, induced Lilla Halluma to mention several instances of branches of the royal family being put to death unfairly. Among others, the most atrocious was an uncle of the late Mohamed Bashaw, father to the

present Bashaw. Mohamed Bashaw, who had long waited for an opportunity of privately putting his uncle to death, sent his physician to the prince, who had been wounded, with a poisoned plaster, with orders for the physician to put it on and remain with his uncle an hour and a half, by which time it had taken effect, and the unfortunate victim died in great agony in a few days.

Lilla Halluma desired the princesses, Lilla Fatima and Lilla Howisha, who had entered the room after Lilla Hálluma, to take us to the apartment where the Bey was killed. Dreadful as this favour appeared to us, we could not refuse to go for fear of offending her. We found the sight as strange as it was terrible ; against the walls on the outside of the apartment had been thrown jars of soot and water mixed with ashes. The apartment was locked up, and is to remain in that state except when opened for the Bey's friends to view it. All in it remained in exactly the same state as when Lilla Halluma received the Bey to make peace with his brother ; and what was dreadful, it bore yet all the marks of the Bey's unhappy end. Not an article of any description had been suffered to be removed since the Bey's dissolution. All

that the apartment contained was doomed, by Lilla Halluma, as she said, to perish with the Bey, and like him to moulder away in darkness.

Among the number of the late Bey's horses, which were never mounted by any person but himself, he had one remarkably handsome and perfectly white. During the obsequies performing for the Bey's death, where all was wretchedness and nothing to be seen but mourning, this beautiful horse formed a painful contrast. It was the last object that appeared in the midst of this scene of horror to which it was brought richly caparisoned, and with the same state as when it belonged to his late master; but soon the lustre of its appearance was tarnished. Those who were mourning for the Bey's death, sprinkled it with their blood and strewed it over with ashes, and it was led from the place covered with dismal tokens of his master's fate, with which it was honoured in preference to the rest of its species, on account of its having been its master's favourite. The Bey was accustomed when he returned from riding to place his little boys (who died in the plague) on this horse, while the slaves led it round the yard.

We returned with the princesses to Lilla Aisher's apartments. Lilla Halluma deplored the present state of the castle, so different from what it was a few years since, when the passages to it were clear and open and every face free from suspicion ; but that now the passages from the harem to Sidy Useph's apartments were locked on his side, and Sidy Hamet, from this caution of his brother, has insisted on Lilla Halluma's ordering them to be fastened on his side : every place, she says, is so watched and guarded in the castle, that she considers it only as a state prison.

We saw none of the princes during this visit. Refreshments were as usual profusely and grandly served, but none were touched, and we left the castle as late as we could before sunset.

October 30, 1790.

We rode out yesterday to see the camp, which is at last pitched for the Bey and Sidy Useph. It was formed nearly in the shape of an angle, the centre of which was marked by two handsome spacious tents communicating with each other, and which were erected for the Bey. We dismounted and entered them where he received

us with his usual affability. He informed us that Shaik Alieff's people, to the amount of four hundred, were expected to join the camp every moment, with Shaik Alieff's son at the head of them; and that a considerable number of the Krowailes, another tribe of Arabs, were to come in from the deserts the next morning to accompany him in this expedition. He told us he was obliged to find them each a cap, a baracan, a shirt, and a pair of shoes, as soon as they arrived, and to supply the chief Arabs amongst them with a sum of money in small piastres,* which at the time it was fixed many years ago, amounted to a maboob (seven shillings and sixpence); but this sum being still obliged to be paid in small piastres, is increased to ten times

* The author once intended to have prefixed a table of Turkish measures, weights, and money. The instability of the coinage, and the various estimates a traveller will meet with in different parts of an empire so heterogeneous and extensive as that of Turkey, have prevented the introduction of any table of this description. It may suffice, therefore, to say, generally, of the piastre, and parah or para, wherein almost all calculations are made, that fifteen piastres may be considered as equivalent to our pound sterling, being the par of exchange; and that forty parahs equal one piastre.

Dr. Clarke's Travels, part. ii. sect. i. p xx.

as much from the fluctuation in the value of the coin.

Sidy Hamet expressed his disapprobation of the troops going out against the Mezurateens, and he regretted their not having been brought to terms before they had been so exasperated; but concluded by saying, the force would be strong enough to silence them with very little trouble.

The inside of the first of Sidy Hamet's tents was lined with light blue silk, and the top with crimson satin, embroidered with gold and silver flowers. The inner tent, which was intended to sleep in, was more simple than the first, the inside being chiefly composed of blue and white silk. On each side of the entrance of the first tent were placed the colours and the silver stick bearing one tail. In front of the tent, at some distance from it, were the cannon. The nuba plays every day at the same hour as at the castle; and was leaving the tent when we entered it. Sidy Useph's tent could not be distinguished from those of the common men; except from its being newer and there being an awning before it.

We went this morning to the castle to see the princes set off. As the procession of officers, &c. was in every respect the same as the last I mentioned, I shall not trouble you with a description of it. I shall only acquaint you with the circumstances that attended it. When the troops were at a considerable distance, we saw Sidy Useph return full speed to the Arabs, who with their chief had not moved from the walls of the town. Sidy Useph seemed to be much agitated, and after speaking to them for some time, he sent off a chaoux, or aid-de-camp, to the Bey. By this time it was known that the Arabs, not having received of the Bashaw all they had demanded in advance, would not stir; and Sidy Useph had sent for the Bey's consent to fire upon them, but the messenger returned with contrary orders. The Bey said he had agreed with them that they should follow in the evening.

When the troops were entirely gone, Shaik Alieff, before he would suffer his Arabs to move, exacted such hard conditions from the Bashaw, and was so exorbitant in his demands for ready cash, that the Bashaw, who was obliged to make him join the camp at any rate, was under

the necessity of submitting to the most unreasonable sacrifices with a good grace, fearing if he did not satisfy Shaik Alieff, he would go over to Shaik Saffanassa, who is already on the side of the Mezurateens, and turn the scale entirely against Tripoli.

Owing to there being various parties for and against the government here at present, the most trifling circumstance gives rise to serious alarms. While the consuls were taking leave of the Bey this morning before he left the castle, an Arab made his way to the prince, and hastily kneeling snatched at his hand as if to kiss it. At his sudden and rough manner, and from the neglect of his people in permitting a common Arab to approach him without notice, Sidy Hamet gave so significant a look of anger and surprise, that his selectar, or sword-bearer, and other officers, caught hold of the man instantly, and pushed him with such violence from one to another to get him out of the way, that it was every moment expected he would be thrown over the galleries, in which case he must have been dashed to pieces. The Arab was so out of breath from the fright and rough treatment, that he dropped down senseless, and was thought dead for some time.

November 10, 1790.

Letters have arrived from the princes to the Bashaw. The Bey's letters were brought into town in the morning, but Sidy Useph's letters did not arrive that evening. It was in vain that the Caitibe, the Chiah, and the Shaik, waited to hear the contents of the Bey's letters; the Bashaw was alarmed, and said he would do no business nor open any letters till those from Sidy Useph arrived, which they did the next morning. The news they brought was quite favourable, and relieved the minds of the people, who had been in a state of despondency for many days.

The Mezurateens attacked the princes in great numbers on this side of Mezurata. Shaik Alieff did not desert the Bashaw's cause as was expected. He fought against Saffanassa's Arabs and killed his son, whose head is brought here to be placed on the walls of the town. The princes and the Arabs whom they had with them, drove the Mezurateens back with great loss to the town of Mezurata. The chaoux who came with the accounts went about to ask, as is the custom here, for a *buona mano* (money) from the Moors of distinction, and from the consuls, as a reward for bringing such good news.

The Bashaw gave fifty sequins (nearly thirty pounds).

With the Bey's letters there came an order to the governors of the port to stop a Jewess, named Mezeltobe, who was ready to embark for Malta. She is daughter to the famous Jewess I have mentioned to you, known by the appellation of Queen Esther, and who is so great a favourite with the Bashaw.

Mezeltobe had endeavoured to betray Lilla Howviva, wife of the present Bey (while he was Sidy Hamet), to the late Bey. She had brought several messages from the Bey to Lilla Howviva, for which she was forbid her presence, and on this account Lilla Howviva determined not to visit in the castle for some time, unless accompanied by one of the Bashaw's daughters. Mezeltobe with unremitted toil watched a long time the princess's motions, and one night she informed the Bey, that Lilla Howviva would in a few minutes pass through a passage in the castle to her own apartments quite alone. The Bey, profiting of Mezeltobe's intelligence, concealed himself in a baracan and went immediately to intercept Lilla Howviva in her way. Deceived by Mezeltobe's information, the Bey

had formed an erroneous idea of Lilla Howviva's conduct, and flattered himself he should meet with a favourable reception from her. He followed a female figure through the dark passages of the harem for some time, not daring to accost her for fear of a mistake; till by the light of the moon which reflected on Lilla Howviva as she passed by a window, he was convinced it was her. He addressed her, and terrified her exceedingly, from his extreme anger at finding himself disappointed in her unexpected behaviour, which he supposed was merely assumed.

This female messenger, like the rest of those nuisances in the castle, acted only from mercenary views, and though she had seriously incurred Lilla Howviva's anger, yet the expectation of a valuable reward from the Bey made her determine on procuring a meeting between them, as she hoped the Bey's persuasions would do more in his favour with Lilla Howviva than the messages she had carried from him. From the sternness of the Bey, and his disbelief of her real sentiments, the timid Lilla Howviva was near fainting, when the approach of servants at a distance obliged the Bey to retire for fear of being discovered by them. Lilla Howviva, freed by this fortunate circumstance, returned

unperceived to her own apartments; but as soon as she entered them, she sunk senseless on a sopha. When she recovered, to quiet the solicitude of those around her, who were both surprised at her situation and alarmed for her health, she attributed her illness to the extreme heat of the evening, and cautiously concealed this unpleasant event, aware that its discovery must terminate the life of Sidy Hamet, or the Bey, or perhaps both. This lady is extremely handsome, without being regularly beautiful. Her complexion is fine, her eyes are black and wonderfully animated, not with haughtiness, but with sweetness; she is not very tall, but finely made; her character is unimpeached, and her disposition softness itself. How dreadful, that owing in a great measure to the customs of this country, such a woman should often be dangerously exposed to the machinations of infamy. There is no doubt that the Bey was perfectly deceived from the account he had heard of her, and yet it is certain that this meeting was fortunate, both for his peace and that of Lilla Howviva, as it displayed their real sentiments to each other. Mezeltobe was instantly forbid the castle by the Bey, but her infamous conduct remained unknown to the present Bey till a very short time since. When the Bey was

setting off with the troops for Mezurata, some person disaffected to Mezeltobe, knowing she was going to quit the kingdom with a good deal of money, related the story to him, which they had heard from Mezeltobe herself. The Bey was so exasperated at her conduct towards Lilla Howviva, that notwithstanding her having failed in the object she wished to accomplish, he determined on her death, and for this reason sent the order above mentioned to the governor of the port, forbidding him to permit her to leave the kingdom; but from the great influence of Mezeltobe's mother (the Queen Esther) with the Bashaw, an order was procured from the castle for her sailing, and she is gone to Malta.

November 29, 1790.

The troops are returned successful from Mezurata. The Bey and Sidy Useph came in together. They had disagreed in their measures a few days previous to their return, and it was feared that Sidy Useph would have made this a pretext to have gone off to the Arabs, and have brought them with him to Tripoli against his father and brother; but at length the princes returned amicably. The guns of the castle and the batteries fired, and the consular flags were

hoisted when they entered the town. Among other spoils, they have brought with them one hundred dogs, which have been used to hunt the gazels or antelopes,* and are, therefore, reckoned of great value here.

We paid a visit to Lilla Halluma yesterday, and had a very narrow escape from being obliged to see and speak with Sidy Useph at his own house. Your feelings will give me credit,

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* That pretty species of animal, the eyes of which are considered in the east as the standard of perfection, the antelope, is seen marching in numerous herds, and traversing with speed the hills and plains. They are as shy as the wild oxen, and the approach of a strange object is sufficient to make them disappear. Their lightness and celerity are unparalleled. Nature has bestowed on them long legs, slender and tendinous, which, while they protect their liberty, seem to be another obstacle to the desire men might form of subjugating them. In fact, their legs are so slender, and brittle at the same time, that they break in the attempt to convey the animal from place to place, or even when it is kept on a pavement, or a floor, which is smooth enough to be slippery. The Arab, however, mounted on his courser, overtakes these swift-footed animals, and throws a stick at them, by which their legs are most commonly entangled and broken; so that it is very rare you can procure one alive, without its being so crippled that it is impossible to keep it.

Sonnini's Travels in Egypt, vol. ii. p. 113.—*Denon's Travels in Egypt*, vol. i. p. 240.

when I assure you, that to us a more shocking circumstance could not have happened. To those who have known so intimately the late Bey, as we have, while the dreadful circumstances of his death are still so fresh, nature recoils at the sight of Sidy Useph.

You are informed as to these visits being in the style of the ancients, and, therefore, will not be surprised, or shocked, when I tell you, that we found Lilla Halluma superintending her blacks while they were making fine bread. Lilla Halluma offered to send her women with us to her apartments, there to wait her coming; but we objected to this. After some time, when she was coming away, her blacks stopped her to say, that some workmen, who were repairing a building, had had notice, and would be out of the way in a few minutes. This precaution was necessary, as Lilla Halluma could not pass through the harem while men were in sight.

When we came to her apartments, we found ready prepared, on a Turkish table of mother-o'-pearl and silver, curds and whey and Fezzan dates. This light repast was placed on a gold embossed waiter, nearly the size of the table,

about three feet in diameter. I do not mention this to draw your attention to the grandeur of the castle, but to shew you the difference between the customs here and at Constantinople, where the plain manner meals are served in has, by writers, been attributed to the tenets of Mahomed, which they say have denounced vengeance against those who eat off gold or siver; whereas, here they seldom present the most trifling article but on one of these metals, Coffee, though served in the finest china, is placed in a gold chased cup. At Lilla Halluma's, the tea and coffee placed in those cups are put on gold trays, so large that they are carried round to the company by two black eunuchs. Soon after we entered the apartment of Lilla Aisher, the late Bey's widow, Lilla Howisha came in. Lilla Aisher was spinning wool, to divert, as she said, a melancholy moment. Lilla Howviva, Sidy Hamet's wife, we knew waited for our paying her a separate visit in her own apartment, as it was the first visit of ceremony after her husband being proclaimed Bey. Lilla Halluma, knowing our intentions, begged us not to omit going to the wife of Sidy Useph first, saying, she knew Lilla Howviva would excuse it. We were very sorry to do this; but there was no alternative, as it was Lilla Halluma's wish and

order. She sent some of her most confidential women with us to conduct us there and back to her again. This was a very great favour, as none of her people have been suffered to go near Sidy Useph's residence since the murder of the Bey.

In going to Sidy Useph's house, we passed through some subterraneous passages almost entirely without light; and the superstition of the Moorish women with us (who were convinced that we should meet the ghost of the Bey at every dark corner we passed) did not serve to enliven our minds, which were depressed with the fear of meeting more animated beings than spirits. When we arrived at the entrance of the last of these gloomy passages, a door nearly all of iron, securely fastened, prevented our advancing further till our names were reported. After some time, we heard the eunuchs advance, push back the iron bolts, and, with great difficulty, remove two immense heavy bars, with which this pass had lately been guarded, to screen the guilty heart from the vengeance of all but its Maker. As soon as this gate was opened, a lantern, carried by one of the eunuchs, gave just light enough to discover a part of their formidable figures and the

glare of their arms; but when they held it up to take a better survey of those to whom they had given entrance, it shone fully on their faces, which, black as jet, were rendered more striking by the fierceness of their eyes and the whiteness of their teeth, and thrilled us with horror, while we reflected, as we followed them closely through the gloom, how lately their hands had been stained with the blood of the Bey. We rejoiced when we saw day-light again, and found ourselves at a greater distance from these murderers. The tirewomen and blacks, who were sent to meet us, took us to an apartment, where we waited for the princess, Sidy Useph's wife. The floor of the apartment was covered first with Egyptian matting, over which were Turkey carpets; and, before the sofa, were laid over the carpets quilted sattin mattresses with gold flowers. The sofa was crimson velvet embroidered with gold, and the cushions were of gold tissue. Contrary to the taste of the country, this room was not hung with tapestry, but nearly covered with looking-glasses, and gold and silver fire-arms, trinkets, and charms. About the room were a number of large costly cabinets of mother-o'-pearl, tortoiseshell, and ebony, some mounted with gold and others with silver. Before the sedda, where the couch

or bed is for sleeping, four silk curtains richly embroidered were hung, one over the other. Upon the whole, the apartment was grander than any in the castle, except that of Lilla Halluma.

In a few minutes after we were here, the wife of Sidy Useph entered the apartment superbly dressed. An etiquette was observed when she entered which we have not seen practised in this place before: her people ranged themselves regularly on each side, her white attendants nearest to her, and her blacks the farthest off, forming a double line, through which we passed to meet her. It was the first time we had seen her. She is of Turkish extraction, young and handsome, but nothing soft in her manner, and her face has too much of the fierceness of a Turkish countenance to be pleasing. She was very reserved at first, but grew more familiar afterwards, and was so importunate with us to wait for Sidy Useph, who she said was expected every minute, that we quite despaired of quitting her before his arrival. When we parted, and before we got to the end of the galleries belonging to her apartments, we heard him with his blacks entering the court-yard below. The eunuchs who were with us wished us to return; but

we desired them to go on, and soon reached the outside of Sidy Useph's harem, when the eunuchs quickly closed the tremendous door after us at the end of the subterraneous passages, with as much grating and difficulty as it had been opened.

On our return from Sidy Useph's we went with Lilla Halluma's women directly to Lilla Howviva the Bey's wife. The contrast was striking between the Bey's apartments and those which we had just quitted. Here every countenance was open, and the servants looked easy and free from suspicion. Lilla Howviva received us in the most courteous manner. Though this was merely a visit of form, a consciousness of her own dignity had satisfied her, without manifesting any outward sign of etiquette or ceremony that could be dispensed with. Her dress was more costly than usual, and she wore some additional jewels. She was engagingly affable but not cheerful; for who, as she said, can trust Sidy Useph? and she trembles for her husband's safety. We had not been long with her before the Bey came in. We saw him cross the yard as we entered the galleries. He was then going to his father's levee; but Lilla Howviva sent to tell him we were with her, and he returned to her apartment.

Sidy Hamet has never been out of Tripoli, nor is he in the habit of conversing much with Christians; yet his behaviour was mild, polite, and courteous. His dress alone bespoke him a Moor. His manners to his family were not less affectionate and delicate than those of the most polished European. Lilla Howisha, his favourite sister, wife of the Rais of the Marine, came into the apartment: as soon as she entered she went up to the Bey and kissed the top of his turban, which instead of his not deigning to notice, as is the custom of the country, he directly saluted her cheek and offered her his chair; this she did not accept, but made a sign to her blacks who instantly brought her another. Chairs, which do not enter into the list of furniture for a Moorish sala, had been previously brought in for us, and it was the first time we had seen in Moorish company all the guests sitting on them. As soon as Sidy Hamet was seated, they brought him coffee and a pipe ornamented with gold, coral, amber, and silver.

Moors of distinction hardly ever sit in company without their pipe and coffee. If they visit you, they are immediately presented with both.

As this was a visit of etiquette, all the ceremony of coffee, sherbets, and perfumes, were served, although we had already partaken of them at Lilla Halluma's. The Bey did not leave the apartments till a very few minutes before we went away, which was at sunset; he must therefore have been absent from the Bashaw's levee, for which he must have accounted to him, as the omission of this ceremony by the princes, without some particularrea son, is considered a great mark of disrespect.

Sidy Hamet conversed with his wife and sister in a manner which shewed he considered them as rational beings: he told them the news of the day, and heard their opinions on different subjects with a complacency uncommon to the Moors. He desired Lilla Uducia to send her women for some new gold bracelets for the feet that were making for her in the castle, which the Jews came there to manufacture. They were brought for us to see; the pair weighed nearly five pounds of solid gold curiously wrought, and from their weight they have literally the effect of fetters; but a Moorish lady walks very little, and with great caution when she wears them.

When we left the apartments of the Bey, Lilla Howisha, the Rais of the Marine's wife, accompanied us through the Harem as far as the house allotted for the black female slaves. This place, though within the precincts of the Harem, is farther than the ladies are accustomed to go. In consequence of this, a circumstance occurred that might have proved very serious, had it happened to any other than the parties concerned. From the long time we had spent with Lilla Howisha, we were considerably beyond the hour appointed for us to quit the Harem. The consul came to meet us as far as this place, a liberty, I believe I may safely say, that would not have been permitted to any Christian but himself; but the Moors look up to him as answering the title they give him of "*Boui*" (protector), while they call his daughters "*Bint el bled*" (children of the country). Lilla Howisha's terror and surprize at finding herself so fully exposed to the eyes of a Christian, is easier conceived than described, in a country where the laws make it death for a Moorish lady to be seen by a male stranger. She instantly veiled herself and retired; but declared all the fault was hers, as it was indiscretion to wander so far through the Harem, without sending to

the house where the blacks are, to warn them of her approach. She intreated us to come again soon, and smilingly said, she should take care no such accident should happen in future. I hope the anecdotes of this visit may make amends for the length of my letter.

December 20, 1790.

Since Sidy Useph's return from his expedition with the Bey against the Mezurateens, the following circumstance has happened, which shows how much he is feared and looked up to at the castle.

A woman named Fatuma, a favourite attendant of Lilla Halluma's, soon after the late Bey's death, went from his widow to the present Bey, to intercede with him to save his late brother's children from the ignominy of pulling off all their ornaments, according to Sidy Useph's order, who had said they were condemned blood, and that if they lived, they should appear dressed like the children of the slaves. Besides this offence, Fatuma is likewise accused of having spoke too freely of the late Bey's death in the castle: Sidy Useph, therefore, ordered two of his infamous blacks to strangle her and her in-

fant. The heart-broken Lilla Halluma, hearing of the order for the death of her favourite confidential servant, ventured to conceal Fatuma in her apartment; but during the evening, being convinced she could not save her, she ordered her to seek for other shelter, or the result would be that of seeing her and her infant killed before her eyes, as it was by this time known they were in Lilla Halluma's apartment. The poor unfortunate woman then sought refuge in the Bey's widow's house, who at the risk of her life ventured to detain her the whole night; but not daring to befriend her longer, she also sent her off in the morning, advising her to attempt to go secretly round the castle to Lilla Howisha, the wife of the governor of the port. Sidy Useph being informed by those sent to search for Fatuma where she was concealed, sent word to his sister, Lilla Howisha, that her husband's life should be the price of her attempting to screen Fatuma and her infant from his vengeance. The poor creature was again turned out instantly with her child, but she was now advised to quit the castle, and take refuge at some consular house. Watching her opportunity she escaped from the castle, and knowing she was pursued, as she ran by the house of Lilla Uducia, the eldest princess, (who as I in-

formed you, quitted the castle two years ago and lives in the town), she left her infant there, not being able to carry it farther: she laid it in the skiffar, or hall, hoping some one would protect it, and reached the Venetian consul's home, that being the nearest. She just touched the door (which was sufficient to protect her,) at the instant Sidy Useph's servants were about to seize her. The event was truly distressing to the consul. His feelings would not permit him to give Fatuma up to Sidy Useph's rage, and the protecting her might eventually embroil his nation with Tripoli. All the Moors of rank advised the consul to go at once to Sidy Useph, as the Bashaw does nothing at present but what is sanctioned by him. This marked attention to Sidy Useph had the desired effect. He gave his word to the consul that he would not only revoke his orders for Fatuma's death, but would himself return her to his mother. Fatuma was instantly conveyed to the castle, for fear any change might take place in her destiny, and Sidy Useph kept his word in delivering her himself to Lilla Halluma. But certainly all these circumstances prove, that Sidy Useph is gaining more power in the castle than he is entitled to as youngest son of the Bashaw.

January 18, 1791.

To-day, Sidy Amorrah, the eldest son of the first minister, and Hadgi Useph, an officer of the Bey's, dined with us. Sidy Amorrah is just arrived from Spain, where he went as ambassador from this country. I have before remarked to you that the Spaniards have paid enormously for this their first peace with Barbary. Sidy Amorrah has made so much advantage of his embassy, that he has left a considerable sum in the banks of Spain, in reserve for himself, besides great property which he has brought here. I regret to say that he is a great usurer, putting his money out at so high an interest as to make eighty per cent. of it, to the complete ruin of those who apply to him for assistance; but he has not returned in time to save himself from some great losses incurred from the enraged and artful Arabs, in return for the infamous interest he wished to make them pay for sums of money he had advanced them. Sidy Amorrah, though so lately arrived from a brilliant European court, was a complete foil in point of politeness to his countryman, Hadgi Useph, who has never been out of Tripoli. The former spoke but little at dinner:

he had not since he went away accustomed himself to the use of a knife and fork, or made any alteration in his manners, which are not the most polished for a Moor. The latter has adopted many of the European customs; in company he is easy without rudeness, and courteous without annoyance; and is always a welcome guest with the Christians for his cheerfulness and good humour. As a specimen of Moorish witticism, Hadgi Useph, on seeing one of the company where he dined carve a fowl, not quite with that adroitness which is usual among Europeans, observed that the fowl was still suffering for the sins it had committed in this world, and the leg which was now taking off with such difficulty, was certainly the same with which he had scratched up the barley-corn in the farmer's yard where he went to steal it.

A disagreement has lately taken place between Sidy Useph and the Bey. The former proposed to assist in placing Sidy Hamet on the throne, deposing the Bashaw, and remaining himself Bey, till Sidy Hamet's son (now an infant) grows up. This proposal not being approved of by Sidy Hamet, Sidy Useph immediately left the town, and placed all his family at one of his country residences in the Messeah.

A few nights after Sidy Useph was seen disguised in a black baracan, going to all the shaiks of the Messeah. He told them that in case of wanting their assistance, those amongst them who obeyed his summons he would pay highly and protect, and those who refused to join him, his people should massacre and plunder. By promises and threats he easily induced them to agree to join him; in the mean time he is gone to the mountains, and his family, who were expected to return to the castle during his absence, remain still out of town. We heard this news from the Bashaw's eldest daughter, with whom we went to spend a few hours this afternoon, it being the fast of Ramadan, a season rendered very tedious to her. Her slaves and servants were most of them prostrate on the ground, some asleep, while others looked as if fetching their last gasp, from not being able longer to resist the violent heat of a land wind, which (added to their abstinence from food) they have had to contend with for the last three days.

This princess employed herself in directing her women, who were giving out the provisions necessary for the meals of the night—the only time they can eat during the fast. Among

other articles, they divided five baskets of bread, containing one hundred and fifty small loaves each. The slaves then portioned out large pitchers of sherbet of raisins boiled to a strong juice; and this liquor was put into above a hundred diegers or antique vessels. In making this sherbet, from forty to fifty pounds of raisins are consumed every night in one family, during the month of Ramadan.

January 19, 1791.

To-day the ceremonies begin for the bridal feast of Hadgi Abderrahman's niece, a lady named Bintel Trabaltzi (the child of Trabaltzi), who has married the ambassador's son, the same who was with him in England. As I have before described to you the marriage ceremonies of people of rank here, I shall have little to say on this occasion. We found assembled at the ambassador's house, between three and four hundred women; and among the people of consequence, Lilla Zenobia, the wife of Sidy el Buny, did not fail to make a magnificent appearance. This is the lady I have before mentioned as a favourite of the late Bey. She has not ceased since his death to excite jealousy at the castle; and owing to

her influence in this place, is by Moorish ladies of rank admitted into their houses. To-day her bracelets, not confined to the size usually worn by the nobility, exceeded those worn by the princesses. Zenobia first made her appearance in a gold flowered baracan, exactly the same as one Lilla Halluma had sent as a present for the bride; and this circumstance, though it would not appear to you to be of consequence, is considered here as an affront to Lilla Halluma: this baracan Zenobia soon changed for one equally rich and handsome. A great quantity of money was given by the company to the singing girls at this assembly; for which one of Lilla Amnani's confidential women carried a silk handkerchief round to the company: the larger sums were afterwards given by the guests, and put into a silver plate, as offerings to the bride.

The bride takes her meals alone for the first seven days after she is married, as she is not allowed to eat, during that time, with any of her relations.

While the bride occupies the seat erected for her during the ceremony, it is a crime for her to smile; but the Lilla Bintel Trabaltzi was so

much inclined to laugh, that Lilla Uducia, the ambassador's daughter, to screen her from observation, threw the veil over her again, which had covered her face while she walked to the seat. Before she ascended it, one of her blacks was sent to clear it by charms from the effect of any bad eyes, that might, by gazing on it, have rendered it unlucky to the bride. She was enveloped in the baracan sent her by Lilla Halluma, and had a silk veil thrown over her face: she was supported by the ambassador's wife and daughter; six wax lights were carried before her by her slaves; and she was conducted to her bridal seat, through an immense crowd of ladies who were assembled to see her. At this moment the music and singing increased, and the festive song was so loudly vociferated, as entirely to drown every other sound for the time it lasted.

During the feast, the bridegroom was employed in his choaish, or golphor, receiving the compliments of his friends. The consuls visited him on this occasion, and they afterwards came at sunset to join us on our return from the ambassador's house.

The feast for the bride lasts seven days,

during which period she does not see the bridegroom; such is the etiquette here.

May 29, 1791.

Last night a Jewish Bible was presented to the synagogue by a Jew, at whose house we were present to see the feast made on the occasion. The ceremony there will be more novel to you than a description of the presentation of it in the church, which has been so often and so correctly described by others.

This donation is always accompanied with a great deal of ceremony and expense. Grand suppers were provided for immense numbers of Jews at the house of the donor for seven nights previous to the carrying of the Bible to the synagogue; and the night before it is removed from the house, a general supper is also given there, to as many Jews as think proper to attend.

The Jew who gave this Bible not being married, the wife and daughters of the governor of the Jews did him the favour to come to his residence and superintend the dressing of the viands, and to perform the honours of the house on this occasion.

All the Jewish priests assembled at the house, to examine the book, and dress it with flowers; and the Jewesses of the highest rank who may be present, lighted a number of wax candles, which were previously placed before it, and burnt incense. Silver vases with flowers were placed on the top of the ark which contains the sacred manuscript, and it was covered with most expensive drapery.

The donor was obliged to go to bathe previous to touching it, and when he returned they put over him a purple mantle, surrounded with a deep white border and a fringe. These mantles are chiefly made at Cairo. As soon as he was dressed, the Bible being his present, he was entitled to hold it up to the people (in imitation of Moses lifting up the tablets on the mount): even the rabbies could not deprive him of this honour. He took the Bible out of the ark, and carried it with great veneration to the door of the apartment, where it had been deposited; here the rabbies first, and the chief of the Jews next, kissed it. He then made a sign for those to approach whose distinguished rank in their different tribes had previously entitled them to be called up to the Bible by the chief priests at the synagogue, and presented it

to them to salute also. Again receiving the sacred volume, he held it extended before him, never lower than his breast, and carried it from the door of the apartment into a gallery opening into the square area of the house, to show it to immense numbers of people who were assembled below. Those who had a right to salute the Bible received it from the Jew, and in the same manner as he had done, they took it by turns to lift the sacred manuscript to the people. When the Bible was brought back to the door of the apartment, it went through the same ceremony as before, of being saluted by the Jews. It was then replaced in the ark.

On the third day, the general supper was given at the house of the Jew, and the Bible, attended by the rabbies and the chiefs, was carried with great ceremony to the synagogue at the adan (or break of day).

The Bible might have remained seven days longer with the donor, but in that case, he must have given up the chief part of his house for that use only; refreshments must have been provided for all the Jews of distinction, none of whom could have dispensed with coming every day to pray by it; and the Bibles from the

synagogue must have been brought with great expense and ceremony to have kept it company. All these considerations induced the donor to convey it to the synagogue as soon as it could be sent with propriety, which was on the third day after the feast had commenced.

June 4, 1791.

A single gun was fired last night to announce the finishing of the fast of Ramadan, and the commencement of the feast of Beiram, and the dragomen to-day received double presents, one for their feast of Beiram, and the other for our King's birth-day.

In the afternoon, the consuls went to the castle to compliment the Bey on the birth of a son, who was born this morning. They found a marabut with the Bey, whom the Bey's people were perfuming with aloes. The Bey held in his hand a gold censer of incense for the purpose, and was shewing the greatest veneration for him, who with an air of haughtiness received all his attentions as only his due. The marabut came to the castle on account of the new-born prince, to perform writings for him, and offer up prayers and sacrifices to the prophet for his

future welfare, for which a lamb was sacrificed. At the feast of Ramazan, at houses of distinction, a quantity of lambs are sacrificed, according to the number of the family; and these lambs must be sacrificed at the door of the habitation. At the last feast of Ramazan eight lambs were killed, drest, and given away at the house of Hadgi Abderraham. Among the middling class of people, one lamb for a family is deemed a sufficient offering.

It is some days since Sidy Useph returned from the mountains, and fortified himself at the Bashaw's garden, in the same manner he did after the late Bey's death. The gates of the garden, or grounds, are shut before sunset, and not opened the next day until Sidy Useph rises, which is seldom before noon. He has with him at present near three hundred Arabs.

Among the subterraneous passages through which we passed, belonging to the Bashaw's and to each of the prince's harems, and communicating with other parts of the castle, the Bey has caused those leading from his harem to be closed up. This singular order was occasioned by the following event. During the fast of Ramadan, about a fortnight since, the Bey went

to pay a visit to his sister, Lilla Fatima, the widow of the Bey of Derner, who had sent for him. On entering the apartment, the Bey perceived an Arab woman sitting in the room, wrapped in a dark baracan: this did not strike him particularly, but the terrors of Lilla Howviva his bride, who was there, and had purposely unveiled herself, surprised him; and she, at the same instant, made a signal to him with her eyes to leave the room, which he directly did. Lilla Howviva followed the Bey as soon as she possibly could, and informed him, the figure in the dark baracan was Sidy Useph, disguised as an Arab woman. She said it was the third time he had been conveyed in disguise into Lilla Fatima's apartments, for the purpose of meeting the Bey there, and hearing his sentiments; and that she had seen the same figure each time, but never discovered it to be Sidy Useph till the present moment, when an awkward plait in his baracan shewed her a part of his countenance, after the Bey had entered the apartments. On this account, the Bey had all the subterranean passages that led to his harem securely closed. The Bey's precautions can never be too great, while events continually prove Sidy Useph's intentions to ascend the

throne at any price; the following illustration of which this day has furnished.

This being the first day of the feast of Beiram, Sidy Useph came to town to pay his compliments to the Bashaw and Bey, an etiquette which could not be dispensed with while Sidy Useph keeps up the least appearance of cordiality with his father and brother, as one of the strongest of their religious tenets is that of reconciling all differences at the feast of Beiram, and the least neglect or coolness at that period is considered as a declaration of open hostility. When the princes were at the Bashaw's levee, it was noticed that Sidy Useph was uncommonly agitated, and was eagerly pressing to get near the Bey, as if to speak to him in private, which could not easily be accomplished, as the brothers were too much at variance to accost each other without ceremony. Sidy Useph at length came up to one of the Bey's most faithful attendants, who with the keen eye of affection as well as of duty, watches over the safety of his master in all critical moments, and desired him to tell the Bey, that when their father's court was over he would go to the Bey's golphor, where he much wished to be permitted to say a few words to him. The attendant excused him-

self from going at that moment, by observing to Sidy Useph that the Bey was speaking with his father, and he durst not interrupt them. Sidy Useph finding this man unwilling to deliver his message, sent another Moor, and in a few minutes after the brothers were proceeding to the Bey's golphor, whither they were instantly followed by the infamous marabut Fataisi, and several of Sidy Useph's people; which this attendant perceiving, instead of accompanying them, he went directly to the Bey's chief chaoux, and told him to go instantly up with his blacks and take possession of the golphor to clear it from intruders, as the Bey was gone there with Sidy Useph. The chaoux lost no time, but on his arrival he found that Sidy Useph's blacks, after the princes had entered, had already crowded round the door of the golphor, with their chief (Sidy Useph's chaoux) at the head of them. In consequence of the information he had just received, he ordered Sidy Useph's chaoux to draw off his blacks and leave him room to pass, but finding it impossible to prevail on Sidy Useph's blacks to permit them to gain a foot of ground without open hostilities, which at such a moment would have proved fatal to his master's life, he had recourse to stratagem to effect his purpose. He took the hand of Sidy

Useph's chaoux, as if in a friendly manner, and contrived by one squeeze to dislocate the man's little finger, the excruciating pain of which deprived Sidy Useph's chaoux of all strength, and, knowing he was usurping a post, for which if he said a word he might be cut to pieces, he led off his blacks directly, and left the door free to the Bey's chaoux.

Sidy Useph, who was already in the golphor with the Bey, on seeing the apartment on a sudden so completely guarded, not by his own chaouxes and blacks, as he had expected, but by those of the Bey, rose quickly from his seat, and with his marabut (Fataisi) took instant leave of his brother, who has for the present escaped any mischief intended him, through the vigilance of his watchful attendant.

June 10, 179 .

I am sorry to observe disturbances are again beginning at the castle. The marabuts occasion a great deal of mischief. The one who went to the castle previous to the late Bey's death, entered it unexpectedly some days ago; ran screaming through the apartments of Lilla Halluma, and, spreading out his hands, pointed

to where the blood of her children was, in a short time, to run "in rivers through the rooms," (that was his expression). Lilla Halluma, prone to superstition, as they all are here, fainted in the arms of her daughters, and has remained very ill ever since.

One of the consuls, who has great claims at the castle, and is uneasy about them, went there to-day, and found the family in very great confusion. The Bey and Sidy Useph had met, and could not agree in any of their points. The consul endeavoured to persuade Sidy Useph to let his own son and the Bey's son be placed as hostages, while Sidy Useph and his brother had another conference. This Sidy Useph would have consented to, but was prevented by his marabut Fataisi.

It was thought Sidy Useph would have slept at the castle last night, but, on the contrary, when the Bashaw's levee was finished, he returned very late to his garden, where his people have increased during the night, from three to six hundred.

The Bey talks of shutting up the town to-morrow. He has sent his hampers to advise

the consuls to make their houses as secure as they can, in case of being attacked by the Arabs. From this account you will perceive our situation does not mend ; but I hope my next may bring you better news.

June 23, 1791.

The town has been in a state of great alarm. The twentieth of this month was fixed for Sidy Useph to meet the Bashaw and Bey in the castle, and make peace again with the Bey in the Bashaw's presence; but Sidy Useph sent a letter to his brother the preceding evening, to say he should not come to the castle without his arms, and desired the Bey to remember the words of the prophet, which declared that nothing could shorten or lengthen the life of man, and that if the Bey believed in their strongest tenet (mughtube, fate),* he could

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* Of the doctrine of predestination Mohammed makes great use in his Koran, for the advancement of his designs; encouraging his followers to fight without fear, and even desperately, for the propagation of their faith, by representing to them that all their caution could not avert their inevitable destiny, or prolong their lives for a moment; and deterring them from disobeying or rejecting him as an impostor,

not want courage. The Bashaw sent immediately an answer to Sidy Useph, to tell him that he would not suffer him to come into his presence armed; but, notwithstanding this order, Sidy Useph approached the town next morning with three hundred men under arms. In consequence of Sidy Useph's approach with such numbers, a proclamation was issued from the castle to the Moors of the town, that if they were molested, every one had the Bashaw's leave to defend themselves, not only against Sidy Useph's people, but against Sidy Useph himself. Such a defence, without this edict, would have been considered high treason.

Before Sidy Useph appeared in sight, his famous marabut Fataisi came into town with some of his holy followers. They were admitted to the sovereign, and Fataisi told the Bashaw that Sidy Useph was on his way to town with twenty people only, and without arms, and implored him by the prophet to send

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impostor, by setting before them the danger they might thereby incur, of being, by the just judgment of God, abandoned to seduction, hardness of heart, and a reprobate mind, as a punishment for their obstinacy.

Sale's Koran, Preliminary Discourse, p. 103.

the Bey out to meet him, and make terms with him for the peace of his family and of his people. The Bashaw instantly agreed to it, and had the prince gone he would certainly have been murdered. But the Bey having received certain information, that Sidy Useph was near the town with several hundred people, he seized the marabut, though in the Bashaw's presence, and, holding his sabre over him, he told him, that had he not been a marabut he would have laid him dead at the Bashaw's feet for his treachery, and then informed the Bashaw that his brother had with him upwards of four hundred men under arms. The Bey turned the marabut out of his presence, and the officers presented their arms at him, but the Bey ordered them not to fire. He desired they would see the marabut out of the gates of the town, and give orders that, on pain of death, no one should suffer him on any account to enter it again.

In the evening, the castle was crowded with people, and strongly guarded at the sandannar, or guard-house ; and, at the zook, a sort of guard-house in the bazar, the guards were trebled.

From our house, we saw the Bashaw sitting

in his golphor, at five in the morning of that day, and he remained almost wholly there till evening. The Bashaw dispatched messengers to the different cydes of the Messeah, to send the Moors of the adjacent villages into town that night; but Sidy Useph sent immediately to tell them, that if they did not come to him, or if one of them attempted to go into town, he would massacre their families and burn their gardens.

A body of Mezurateens and Arabs came in that night to assist the Bey, whose situation is truly distressing. He can get no resources from the Bashaw, and was so short of cash when the Arabs arrived, that he was obliged to borrow money to provide provender for their horses, and to get the necessary provisions for his family.

In the evening the Shaiks of the streets were ordered to arm the inhabitants of the town. In the Messeah, the Moors joined Sidy Useph's people, and committed dreadful ravages all the night, plundering the palaces and gardens belonging to the Bashaw, and to those people who remained attached to him.

Before sufficient assistance could arrive from the Arabs for the Bashaw, it was feared Sidy Useph had Moors enough on his side to enable him to enter the town, and the whole of the night of the twenty-second he was every hour expected to have forced his way in. The agitation of the Tripolitans, as well as the Europeans, during the whole of that night, is not easy to be conceived.

The town being on the sea coast, the inhabitants could have fled no where, from the rapacity of a banditti of Arabs, had they made their way into the city.

At half past ten the next morning, Sidy Useph appeared for the first time in open hostilities against his family. All the atrocities he had as yet committed received a ten-fold addition of guilt, by their having been achieved under the mask of friendship.

On the appearance of Sidy Useph the second day, all the consular houses were closed, as were the shops and the houses of the inhabitants, who turned out with their arms, and ranged themselves in the streets.

The Bashaw sent forces out early in the morning, to preserve the villages of the Messeah from the further ravages of Sidy Useph's people. In the afternoon they brought in the governor or cyde of the Messeah, who was carried to the castle to be strangled, but he is yet living. This man, instead of assisting the people and protecting them, had given every assistance he could to Sidy Useph. When the cyde arrived at the town gate, the Bashaw ordered his chaouxes to proclaim Sidy Useph a rebel, and that it should be lawful to seize him wherever he could be taken, excepting in the marabuts or mosques, which may not be violated.

A noble Moor came into town in the evening of the twenty-second, and pretended not to have joined Sidy Useph, or to have approved of his measures; but he returned again to him early in the morning, and, a short time after his departure, a quantity of provisions and ammunition was stopped at the town gate, which he had endeavoured to send out to him.

About an hour before noon, Sidy Useph's people attacked the town. We saw Sidy Useph for some time seated as cyde of the Messeah in the Pianura, in the place the cyde should

have occupied had he been present. Just at this moment, the cyde of the Messeah was brought into the castle-yard to be strangled; but he was remanded back. This is the second time in one day that he has undergone the terrors of being put to death.

The Bashaw has sent round the coast to collect the Arabs. We saw a number of horsemen at a very great distance, approaching from the west: this circumstance gives courage to the people here, who were much cast down. The cannon from the town were fired at Sidy Useph's people during the whole of the day, which had the desired effect of keeping them back. But though the firing was incessant, it did little execution on either side. Sidy Useph lost only five men, and a few horses belonging to the town were killed, notwithstanding there were upwards of three thousand shot fired. The cannon were not even mounted upon carriages; and they were fired by a Russian so badly, that he frequently pointed them into the sea on his left, instead of into the Pianura exactly before him. This account, I assure you, extraordinary as it appears, is true, for we saw every one fired.

From the situation and strength of the English consular house, it was at this critical juncture considered as the only safe asylum among the consular houses. It is very large and chiefly of stone, being built for the Bey's residence many years ago. The side of the house which commands the harbour, Hamet the Great employed to contain a part of his garrison, having shut up all communication thence to the house, in which at that time resided two of his queens. This part was afterwards restored to the building. It is now considered strong enough to make a tolerable resistance, and is favourably situated, being isolated on three sides. On the fourth, it is joined only by Moorish houses, not sufficiently high to annoy it, therefore the flat terracing at the top of the building is very safe, being inaccessible except from the inner part of the house; so that, in the midst of the present troubles, we can in general walk on it with security. It is built exactly on the plan of all Moorish houses, with a square area in the middle, and a piazza, which supports an open gallery into which the apartments lead.

As soon as Sidy Useph arrived within sight of the town, the Greeks, Maltese, Moors, and Jews, brought all their property to the English

house. The French and Venetian consuls also brought their families; every room was filled with beds, and the galleries were used for dining-rooms. The lower part of the building contained the Jewesses and the Moorish women, with all their jewels and treasures. There was likewise a great quantity of jewels in the house belonging to the Bashaw, which were in the possession of some of the consuls, to be returned him at a future time. All these circumstances rendered it highly necessary to guard the house as much as possible, for which purpose a number of Sclavonians, and other sailors, with small cannon from the Venetian ships, were ready with their arms to be stationed on the terraces.

Sidy Useph discontinued his assault upon the town about six in the evening. His people retired out of sight, and the cannon from the town ceased firing; but it was expected he would return in the dead of night. The cry of the town-guard was without interruption till day-light, and at our house the consuls watched by turns the night through.

As Sidy Useph and his Arabs are still at a distance, our house is already empty of the greatest number of its guests; but it is not easy

to divine how the town may be situated before I write to you again.

July 14, 1791.

Since my last, the Bashaw has shewn such an extraordinary distrust of the Bey, as seems to threaten the life of the latter. The Bashaw gave orders to the Chiah, to let only two or three attendants come in with the Bey, and if he had already three attendants with him in the castle, no more were to join him at the Bashaw's levee, where, when the Bey arrived, the Bashaw's officers increased in numbers, and on the Bey's appearance they made a circle round the Bashaw, and the hafsadar (or treasurer) kept in his hand, what is very unsual here, a blunderbuss. This marked distrust of the Bey rendered his situation very dangerous, as the Tripolitans were at a loss whose part to take while this lasted. The Bashaw's suspicions, however, gradually disappeared in a few days, and the Bey seems restored to his confidence.

Accounts are received that Sidy Useph has overrun vast tracts of the country and was endeavouring to gather forces; but that as yet he was every where repulsed. He was ill

received by the tribes of the Benoleeds and the Tahownies. At Mesalata he reckoned much on the governor of the place, who is the husband of the famous Zenobia, the late Bey's favourite, but this man still retains his resentment for the Bey's death, and finding it impossible to oppose Sidy Useph, he fled. Sidy Useph laid all his property waste and returned again to the mountains, leaving Lilla Howia, his wife, with his infant and her mother at the marabut of the Seide. At this trying moment, Sidy Useph discovered a greater degree of feeling than he was supposed to possess, as he returned three different times to the marabut, before he could resolve to part with his wife and child. After his departure, their distresses were so great for want of provisions and clothes, that the Bashaw was induced, from a relation of their sufferings, to offer the princess an asylum for herself, her mother, and her son, at the castle; but of this alleviation to her distress Lilla Howia would not accept: she says, she is ordered by Sidy Useph to remain at the marabut till he comes to take her from it, or till she hears he is dead. If the latter misfortune should take place, Sidy Useph has ordered her to take his infant to the Bashaw and go herself to the castle; if she be still permitted to profit of such

an asylum. These being the last directions given her by the prince, she says, nothing but death will prevent her strictly following them. No person can force her from the marabut; * but they might starve her to death there, as it is lawful to prevent the conveyance of either food or clothes to those who fly to these sanctuaries, by which privation criminals must either die, or deliver themselves up, when nature can resist no longer. After this princess had refused to quit the marabut, the Bashaw, touched with her sufferings and those of his little grandson, permitted clothes and provisions to be carried them from the castle.

The Bey has been obliged for the last few days to send his horsemen to the bazar, or market place, which is held every Friday morning within a few miles of the town, and is termed the Great Bazar, as he feared its being molested by Sidy Useph's people during the hours it lasted.

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* This respect for sanctuaries is descended from the most ancient times. Alaric, at the sacking of Rome, enjoined his soldiers to spare the blood of those who should have taken refuge in any holy place.

Chenier's Present State of Morocco, vol. i. p. 188.

August 3, 1791.

We have seen nothing of Sidy Useph or his troops since the attack they made upon the town in the last month; but since that time he has sent three letters to the Bashaw to solicit peace on any terms. One of these letters was brought by the son of an officer, named Busseneener, who is entirely in the interest of the Bashaw; a second came by the grandson of the Bashaw, who is as much in the interest of Sidy Useph; and the third was brought by the Dugganeer's son, whose head it was expected by his family and all here, would have been taken off by Sidy Useph, as his father had been particularly assiduous in the Bashaw's service, in assisting to drive him from the walls of the town; but, according to the custom of this country, of not infringing on the laws of hospitality, Sidy Useph gave the following message to the Dugganeer's son to deliver to his father. "Tell "your father that I have not to learn that it "was he who pointed the guns at me the other "day from the castle; and that I might now "take your life as a forfeit for his ill intentions "towards me; but, as that would be violating "the laws of hospitality, tell him that I will "not let pass the first opportunity that offers to "revenge myself upon him."

Not long since, Sidy Useph, compelled by his mother-in-law, gave a still stronger instance of not breaking through the laws of hospitality. Before he quitted his gardens to attack Tripoli, the Bashaw wishing to make terms with him, sent out his chief officers, at Sidy Useph's own request, to treat with him; among these were the Cataibe, the Chiah, the Rais of the Marine, and the Selectar, four persons whom it was said, some time before, Sidy Useph was determined to put to death, whenever an opportunity offered. On his mother-in-law being informed that it was intended they should be poisoned on the present occasion, she called to Sidy Useph from a gallery that surrounds a marble court-yard, and stretching out her arms with his son in them, declared she would drop the infant into the yard, unless Sidy Useph swore at that instant not to violate the laws of hospitality at her house, he being then at her gardens; "let these officers "fall," said she, "in any other manner, but "not now; they are come as friends, and under "your avowed protection, to see you under "my roof." Her determined manner prevailed, and for that time these devoted people escaped with their lives.

August 16, 1791.

Some letters, with three changes of clothes, sent to Sidy Useph by Lilla Fatima, have been intercepted. On this occasion a marabut, not Fataisi, came to the Bashaw to say, that Sidy Useph had not a change to wear, and scarce any thing to cover him; but the Bashaw withstood all entreaties, and ordered the clothes to be deposited in Sidy Useph's apartments in the castle.

Since the above, accounts are arrived that the Tahownees have joined Sidy Useph: these are a tribe of Arabs of near three thousand men, each possessed of a gun, and who have about five hundred horses. Besides this addition to his strength, the Méssulateens have declared, that though they will not fight against the Bashaw, yet if Sidy Useph comes among them, they will defend him from his enemies. On account of the above news, Soliman Aga, one of the Bashaw's commanders-in-chief of the Arabs, has been sent to defend Tajura. A quantity of ammunition has been sent hence to that place, where there is a strong castle with a good drawbridge.

To shew you how unsafely or with how little

judgment they act here, I may mention that the Bashaw yesterday banished three persons, friends of Sidy Useph, to Tajura; but as they were embarked without chains, or in any way secured, and have servants of their own with them, it is certain they may get the better of the crew of the vessel they are in, and be landed on the coast just where they please.

Lilla Halluma has forbidden Lilla Fatima her presence, on account of that princess meddling so much in the dissentions between her brothers: her great partiality for Sidy Useph makes her act unjustly to the Bey, which renders this circumstance still more distressing to Lilla Halluma. These accounts cannot affect you as they do us; we feel for every part of this unhappy family, yet see but little of them at present on account of the times, though much solicited to go to them: the continual intercourse there is now with the Arabs, would make it unpleasant, and, perhaps, indiscreet, to enter the castle at this period.

September 21, 1791.

After I closed my letter to you, the consuls had determined on embarking their families on

board the ships in the harbour, with orders to sail from the coast if necessary on the appearance of Sidy Useph, as he has at present with him the most rapacious of the Arab hordes, and as they were expected to commit every excess had they entered the town.

The day on which Sidy Useph was expected to attack this place, a party of Knowiales came into the town under the command of Shaik Alieff to assist the Bashaw. These people suddenly departed, on pretence of being dissatisfied, but they went away only to plunder the Moors in the Messeah. Shaik Alieff sent his son after them to bring them back; but, instead of returning, they carried off their booty.

Sidy Useph, by appearing frequently within sight, keeps the town in constant alarm, but does not attack it. Profiting by his forbearance, we have been to visit the Bashaw's eldest daughter, Lilla Uducia, who, as I have before mentioned, lives out of the castle in the town. We found with her, her sister, Lilla Howisha, the Rais of the Marine's wife, and a number of other ladies from the castle. They came to visit Lilla Uducia on the recent birth of two sons in the family; one her own, and the other her

daughter's; an event which happens oftener here than with you, from the circumstance of the ladies in this part of the world marrying so young.

In Lilla Uducia's apartment, we saw the wife of the Cyde of the Messeah, one of the three black sisters, who were favcurites of the Bashaw. This woman, who is a singular instance of good fortune in having been married by the Bashaw to a Moor of rank, has by her husband's disgrace experienced a sad change. The Cyde of the Messeah, who was several times brought out of the castle, as I have mentioned, to be strangled, has been at last banished the country, and all his property forfeited to the Bashaw. Lilla Uducia has had the generosity to receive his wife into her house, and this black beauty (as she is called) is as comfortable as she can be in her fallen state.

There were in the apartment two fine blacks just purchased from the bazar, as nurses to the infants of Lilla Uducia and her daughter: these two slaves were as usual richly dressed, but were not so wild as the new purchased blacks are in general.

Among other decorations in the apartments,

we were struck with the appearance of several gold-headed canes, hung without order on the walls; but they were described to us as badges of honour, shewing their owners to be among those of the first rank in the government; for it is only the Chiah, the Captain of the Port, and the Selectar, that receive one of these gold-headed canes from the Bashaw or the Bey, to be carried when either of them go out to head the troops.

The accounts from the castle given at Lilla Uducia's were very melancholy; every one spoke of Sidy Useph with dismay, and they fear the present Bey will fall a sacrifice to his brother as the late Bey did.

Lilla Halluma was too ill to visit Lilla Uducia on this occasion. The princesses lamented exceedingly that their sister, Lilla Fatima, was so very much in the interest of Sidy Useph. They say, she took so great a part in every thing that concerned him, that the Bey, who is lenient and circumspect, found himself obliged, some days ago, to send a message to his sister by a confidential person, to tell her that if she meddled any more in what concerned the government or Sidy Useph, he, though her brother,

would put her to death. But private messages are still conveyed from Lilla Fatima to Sidy Useph.

Neither the widow of the late, nor the wife of the present Bey, were at this feast. The former is still in a state of deep mourning, and the latter too unhappy, from the precarious situation her husband is in at present, to see any company.

October 3, 1791.

We are just returned from visiting the wife of a Moor of distinction: he was one of the late Bey's favourites. His lady, Lilla Zelluma, from being received among the most welcome visitors at the castle, is now excluded from it, by the jealousy of those around the Bashaw, who prevent as much as possible any of the late Bey's officers approaching him, least the Bashaw's compassion might lead him to provide for them in preference to themselves.

In the late Bey's life-time, Hadgi Useph, the husband of Lilla Zelluma, lived in splendour. To use her own expression, the females of her family were covered with gold, and their slaves

basked in the sycamore shade; but fallen under the neglect and oppression which has awaited all the late Bey's favourites, Hadgi Useph is become a monument among many vicissitudes of fortune. He has left, by compulsion, an extensive house and gardens in the country, and brought his family to town to a place almost in ruins, where he has been waiting for a long time for a post promised him by the Bashaw's ministers; but as this offer was made only as a screen to the appearance of open persecution, it has added considerably to his distress. Hadgi Useph entered the apartment before we left it.

This lady is his second wife, having lost his first, and all the children he had by her, in the last plague. His description of his situation at that time was as remarkable as it was distressing. His family were then living out of town. After his wife had fallen a victim to the illness, his servants died so fast, that there remained nobody to attend his children. He was at this time himself attacked with the disorder and incapable of passing the night in walking from one apartment to the other where the children lay. He was however averse to putting them together in one apartment, hoping that some one might escape by being divided from the rest. Unable

to remain with them all, when he took leave of them in the evening he placed only a jar of water by each of their beds. In the morning, hardly able to support himself, he anxiously went from room to room to visit them, and daily found one dead, or dying, till the whole had expired. His next great trouble was their interment, which from his own illness, and the scarcity of people near him to assist, was so long delayed as to render it almost impossible to remove them. He continued himself for many days without the sight of a living object, and was deprived of food for such a length of time, as to be aware that the want of it impaired his senses: he would then, from necessity, rise and supply himself with such grain or meal as he could find in the house, and in this manner existed till he succeeded in getting strength enough to have the remains of his children interred, and to change his dreadful abode!

Hadgi Useph, when he entered the apartment of Lilla Zelluma, was just returned from the castle, where he had been disappointed as usual, and put off with promises. He talks of taking his family to Tunis. He observed, while lamenting the Bey's death, that no event had ever proved so strongly the force of their

prophet's assertions delivered in the Koran, that all is mughtube (destiny); for, he said, the Bey was continually warned by his friends of the fatal stroke that awaited him, while, with courage, talents, and power to oppose it, he never for a moment could be brought to apprehend it, or think himself the least in danger.

In this visit, very little more than their habits reminded us that those we were with were Moors. Zelluma leaned on her husband's arm unveiled, and talked with easy confidence. Their conversation was rational, and their ideas almost wholly coincided with ours. An invitation was given to Lilla Zelluma to bring her daughter and sup at the English house. On her being told no male servants should be in the way, and that even the consul would absent himself from the house, for the hours she would be there, she expressed herself highly sensible of this civility shewn her; as such attention from the consul is expected only during the visits of the princesses, or of an ambassador's wife.

I fear we shall not long enjoy the liberty of visiting our Moorish friends, as it is reported that Sidy Useph is again approaching Tripoli,

and all the respectable Moors in the Messeah are bringing their families into town.

November 20, 1791.

Sidy Useph is so near the town, that his people are heard from the adjacent hills, beating the tambura, and singing the song of war every night, to collect together all those willing to join them. The Bashaw has sent out again for troops; and sailors from European vessels have been brought on shore to assist at the castle in pointing the guns. This will not give you a high idea of the Tripolitans as warriors; but the long period of peace which preceded these times, has rendered the people of Tripoli unused to warlike preparations.

For many months we have not been able to ride, except to a very short distance from town; but at present there seems a prospect of our being even deprived of the possibility of passing through the gates of the city, as Sidy Useph and his people are continually in sight.

Sidy Useph has removed his family from the marabut of the Seide to his own gardens. He often mixes among his people in a common

baracan, so wrapped up as not to be distinguished from them, and for many hours they have not the least idea where to find him. It is thought he does this to learn exactly how the Arabs he has with him stand affected to his cause.

The town is badly off for articles from the country: none are brought in, as the Moors cannot venture out for fear of being plundered by Sidy Useph's people. A fowl, fresh meat, or even an egg, cannot be had without great difficulty and danger, and at an enormous expense: vegetables and other provisions have already been procured, at the risk of the lives of those who have been sent for them.

Tripoli may now be said to be overrun with strangers, and those of the most dangerous cast. Arabs from the mountains, who never saw Tripoli before, now walk about it daily, not without impressing terror on all the inhabitants. Many of these people are of what is termed the unvanquished hordes; a people who live in places where none can penetrate but themselves. Many are the sovereigns that have attempted to subdue them, but have retired with their armies unsuccessful. The Arabs,

when pursued, fly before the enemy to their secure abodes, in thick impenetrable woods, in frightful hollows between high mountains, or they descend into the sloping caverns I have mentioned, which they have formed within the bowels of the earth, where their enemies cannot follow them, except singly, in which case they would be massacred by those waiting for them within these dreadful retreats.

These Arabs descend from their mountainsto rob the adjacent villages, and plunder caravans coming from those countries which do not pay them for their friendship.

They have something in their appearance peculiar to themselves, and are easily distinguished from the Arabs who are called here Gibeleens (mountaineers). The latter carry more arms, and are better clad; but these unvanquished hordes have a martial, fierce, and artful look, distinguishing them from others. They are not black, but of a deep copper colour, and are in general tall and well made, with good features: a dark baracan which at times but ill conceals them, and an immense long gun, is all they are usually burthened with. Many of them have received their arms, with a horse, as an invalu-

able legacy from a dying parent, to whom, while on his death-bed, they have sworn to revenge him on his enemies.

These Arabs never fall upon their prey but in large bodies. It is only by passing them quickly and unexpectedly, or in such large parties as to overawe them by their numbers and force, that travellers are safe.

December 8, 1791.

The Bashaw sent for the Cyde of Messalata, either because he suspected him, or to consult him; but the Cyde refused to come, alleging as an excuse that he must remain at Messalata to guard the people. His reason for not obeying the Bashaw's summons has, however, appeared since, by all the Messalateens having gone over to join Sidy Useph. But accounts were brought in to-day much more distressing than these, not only to the Bashaw but to all here, which were that Sidy Useph has gained the Acas over to his side. These are a people who have the care and management of the Bashaw's flocks; they, therefore, carried with them all the animals they had belonging to the Bashaw, among which were several thousand sheep: this

is a loss that will be severely felt by all the people of Tripoli, and can be remedied only by sending to Malta, and other parts, for provisions.

In the last four or five days, upwards of a thousand musquets have been manufactured here, which is reckoned a wonderful effort. They say the town is in a better state of defence than it has been for many years, and it is expected to make a sufficient resistance against Sidy Useph's attacks.

To add to the Bashaw's troubles, and the confusion of the country, it is said the Grand Signior is displeased with the present state of government in Tripoli; and continual accounts are brought of his intentions to re-establish a Turkish garrison, similar to what was here formerly, under a Turkish Bashaw, who is said to be appointed and on his way to this place.

It has been our fate to reside in Tripoli during a period the most unfavourable to Christians in the memory of any one here. Famine succeeded by pestilence, and that by war, have ravaged this unfortunate kingdom, from almost our first arrival on its shores, where its inhabitants had

been healthy and trade flourishing, and where peace and fertility had enlivened the country for the best part of a century. I am sorry to say we have no prospect of witnessing better times.

January 18, 1792.

This year, like the last, finds Tripoli involved in accumulated difficulties. A day does not pass without hearing of families despoiled, and wandering into town, reduced from affluence to beggary. Such a general consternation reigns, that it is impossible to discover who are friends or enemies, and war surrounds us with increasing horrors, aggravated by the dreadful consideration of its being between father and son.

Sidy Useph still exerts his utmost efforts to excite the Arabs to arm for him, and they are joining him very fast: they are so much in his interest, that when the Bashaw sends to any of the Arab chiefs to assist him, their terms are so cruelly unreasonable, that it is often impossible to employ them. Sidy Useph is at present at Zuarra on the coast, a short distance hence; but he is so continually expected here, that every outlet leading from the suburbs of Tripoli

to the sands is kept blockaded with stones, to impede the approach of his people.

With all the present disadvantages of this place, we have still frequently reason to acknowledge that it is not so bad for Christians as other barbarous states. We have just heard that at Morocco, Muley Yesied, who, to the terror of his subjects, has ascended his father's throne, lately put to death the man who was his father's first minister; and, because he suspected this minister to be too much in favour with the Spaniards, he caused his head to be placed on the Spanish consular house, and his hand nailed on the door, to the dreadful annoyance of the family.

What is most to be dreaded here by the Christians, is a sudden burst of the Arabs into town, as these people will receive no check to their depredations by the sight of national colours, to which they would pay no attention unless restrained by the Moors, whom they would certainly overpower.

February 1, 1792.

Some Tunisians, who are just arrived, and who have been sent from Tunis to the Bashaw,

have brought the following extraordinary account of the Bey of Tunis. Owing to disturbances in the country, the Bey had for several days secluded himself from the people. One morning, a few weeks ago, near the adan, or break of day, his officers hearing a dreadful scream from the room where the Bey slept, summoned the guards immediately to the place. The Bey's apartment being fastened, they fired into the lock, which burst open the door: here they found the Bey, who is a very stout man, struggling with his Mamelukes, three boys, the eldest of whom was not seventeen years of age. They secured only one of these assassins, who died half an hour after he was taken: the other two, finding they could not succeed, and having previously fixed on a signal between them, at the same instant snatched a pistol from their sides, shot each other, and dropped down dead together, to the amazement of those present, who could scarcely believe the scene they witnessed to have been acted by mere children; and from this dreadful circumstance it was concluded, that the third youth had swallowed poison unperceived, which had occasioned his death so suddenly.

To-day letters arrived from the Venetian en-

voy at Russia to his brother here, with the news of Prince Potemkin's death, the particulars of which you may not have heard. This Prince has been one of the most victorious of all the Russian generals in the present war against the Turks; and notwithstanding his life was spent in continual war, he attained nearly the age of eighty years. Being unwell, he undertook some weeks ago a journey from the Crimea to another part of the country, for change of air, accompanied by the Countess Potemkin, a near relation. After some days travelling, they one morning got out of the carriage for the pleasure of walking; the Prince not finding himself well, leaned on the Countess's arm, and proposed their resting under the shade of some trees, where, seated by her side, he expired in a few minutes.

He has left immense treasures to the Empress of Russia, to whom the news of his death was immediately brought. The account reached her while at her levee, when the empress dismissed her court, retired to her apartments, and remained very ill for several days.

Though Prince Potemkin has left treasures worthy the acceptance of his sovereign, he

lived at all times in great splendour. He was remarkable for being whimsically expensive in his entertainments: not long before his death he gave a dinner, at which in the middle of the dessert was placed a large orange tree, full of blossom, and also fruit of the richest flavour: of this tree, reared in the middle of winter in the frozen region of Siberia, each orange was reckoned to have cost more than its weight in gold.

March 10, 1792.

It has been reported that Sidy Useph has gone to Tunis, to solicit the Bey's assistance; but it is now known that he is in the Messeah, though he does not discover himself to any but his confidential people.

Provisions are scarcely to be had here at present at any price, and the Jews are so cautious, that they secrete their money, or offer it at so high an interest, that those who want it cannot avail themselves of it.

March 18, 1792.

On fresh alarms yesterday from Sidy Useph's people, who were seen at a distance in great

numbers, the Venetian consul went to the castle, and offered the Bashaw the assistance of the forces on board the Venetian galliots which have put into the harbour for provisions, and are employed in the Venetian war with Tunis. A well disciplined body of men, most of them Sclavonians, with plenty of ammunition, might have made a great difference in the present state of these disturbances; but, to the surprize of every one, the Bashaw rejected this offer: and, strange to say, the cause of his refusal appears to arise from his wishing Sidy Useph to succeed in coming into town. He does not, however, openly avow these sentiments, fearing the resentment of the Bey and his friends.

Sidy Useph's wife and child are again at the marabut, where she is dressed as a common Bedouin Arab, having nothing but a brown baracan to cover her. How different from the last time we were with her, when she appeared decorated with a greater quantity of jewels and gold than any of the other princesses, and received us with infinitely more pomp than even the sovereign herself.

April 16, 1792.

In my last letter but one, I mentioned the atrocities of Muley Yesied, then Emperor of Morocco. Happily for the peace of his subjects, this inhuman character is no more. We have received the following accounts of him, by some Moorish friends just come from Morocco. Immediately after Muley Yesied's quitting this place, finding his father was still determined to punish him for his infamous proceedings, he resolved, when on his return he reached the coast of Morocco, to take refuge with his family in one of the most revered sanctuaries in his father's dominions, from which he might be sure of not being taken on any pretence whatever.

He fixed on the marabut of *Muley Absalem ben Jensies*, or Muley Absalem the son of Jensies, which was near Tetuan, and continued his voyage from Barbary to that part of the coast.

His father, the Emperor Muley Mahomet, had previously set out for Sallee, to inspect his black armies, and to head them against his rebellious son, whom he had not been able to soften, by all the indulgence and immense trea-

sures he had wasted on him. During the last part of the Emperor's journey he grew ill so rapidly, that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, and within a short distance of Sallee, worn out with fatigue and vexation, fell a sacrifice to the afflictions he suffered from the unnatural conduct of his son. He expired on the eleventh of April, 1790, near the river Cherattas, in the midst of his officers, who, fearing his remains might be insulted by the brutish disposition of Muley Yesied and his soldiers, kept his death a profound secret. They placed the dead body in the same litter from whence the Emperor had descended but a few hours before, and continued to manifest the same attentions in accompanying it as they had done whilst he was alive.

The next morning the Emperor's death was proclaimed at Sallee,* and he was buried in the

* As soon as the people heard the intelligence of the death of their good Emperor, they were overwhelmed with grief and despair, and made the air resound with their cries and lamentations. He was the father of his people, the comforter of the poor, and the support of the widow and the orphan: amidst all this grief the heart of Muley Yesied alone remained unmoved.

Abrégé de la Vie de Muley Yiezit, p. 22.

palace of Robat, according to the last orders he gave to the officers who were with him when he died. The people of Morocco, paralized with terror and dismay, then heard the Effendi in pomp and magnificence proclaim Muley Yesied Emperor, on the fourteenth, three days after the death of his father.

Not even a barbarous nation could accustom itself to the cruelties of Muley Yesied, and as soon as he ascended the throne his subjects placed his brother Muley Ishem at the head of an army against him.

The enraged Emperor Muley Yesied, after having in the most savage manner forced immense sums of money from all classes of his subjects, headed an army of thirty thousand men, and set out on the fourteenth day of February 1792, to meet Muley Ishem. The dreadful career of Muley Yesied's cruelties was now drawing to a conclusion; for on the same day on which this monster set out with his troops against his brother, he was mortally wounded with a barbed arrow from a private hand. As soon as he was wounded he was brought back to his palace of Dar-Beida at Morocco, where he arrived the same evening.

Here he lay in agonies till his death, as the arrow could not be extracted; and during his sufferings he caused more people to be sacrificed, and committed more crimes and outrages, than he had ever accomplished in his life, in so short a space of time, as he survived only till the next evening.*

On the day following, the sixteenth of the same month, it was with universal joy that Muley Ishem was proclaimed Emperor, and on that day the body of the barbarous Muley Yesied was carried to Messia in Morocco, to the mosque called the Coba Ysheesfu, where, to the great relief of his people, this tyrant was interred. He was said to be forty-three years of age; for, as already observed, the Moors never register their ages, it being against their religion. Muley Yesied had been Emperor

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* Le même jour, 16me. Février 1792, le cadavre du tyran Yiezit fut enterré au Mensia à Maroc dans la mosquée nommée *Cobar-Chuerfa*, endroit où sont les mausolées des anciens rois de la race des *Saadia*, qui regnèrent avant celle de Cherifs *Ouled Aly*, qui est la présente race sur le trône. Yiezit est mort la quarante-quatrième année de son âge, et le vingt-deuxième mois de son règne.

Abrégé de la Vie de Muley Yiezit, p. 134, imprimé à Rome, 1794.

twenty-two months when he died. His wives and all his female slaves were immediately after his death conveyed to the palace of the Emperor Muley Ishem. Among the widows is the Arabian he took hence by violence from her father's house, the daughter of Shaik Saffanassa, who, it is supposed, will return to him again.

May 20, 1792.

Sidy Useph is again with the Arabs. He had taken possession of a great part of the suburbs of Tripoli, in retaining which he would have been entirely master of the Messeah, and have kept this place in a state of famine. The Bashaw sent off forces to drive him away, which was with great difficulty effected.

So great at present is the difficulty of procuring barley here, that after a hard day's fighting yesterday on the Pianura, the Bashaw's horses, and the greatest part of those belonging to the town, were constrained to pass the night without their food; a cruel circumstance when one reflected on the exertions they had next day to go through. At sunset the Bashaw sent out several hundred men with cannon to attack

a body of the enemy who were stationed within his own gardens, whence they were not driven till late to-day.

We remained till near day-break this morning on our terrace, observing the efforts made on both sides to maintain their ground. The consuls went to the coffee bazar; for it being at present the fast of Ramadan, the principal persons assemble there every night after midnight to drink coffee. It is, therefore, the most favourable time for the consuls to learn from the officers authentic accounts of the state of the country, which at such serious times as these is of the greatest importance to the Christians.

While we remained on the terrace, we had a most perfect view of all that was passing in the Pianura. It was one of those clear still nights known only in the Mediterranean: the bright beams of the moon from a brilliant sky, distinctly discovered to us the greatest part of the Messeah with every object in it. The silence in the town was striking; nothing denoted a night of cheerful relaxation after a long day's fast in Ramadan, at which time the Moors are seen in their yards and on their

terraces, profiting by the few hours relief they can enjoy from sunset to sunrise, to prepare them for another day's abstinence. The greatest part of the inhabitants were without the ramparts guarding the town, and the rest of the Moors, instead of being seen sitting on their terraces, were, by their fears and the Bashaw's orders, retired within their houses. In the streets no objects were visible but the town guard with their hungry pack of dogs, prowling about in vain for some strolling victim to repay them for their vigilance. Near us, not a sound broke upon the ear but that of the slow-swelling wave that washed the walls of the town; while, at a great distance on a calm sea, the white sails of the passing vessels were distinctly visible by the clearness of the night. Opposed to this calm, were the confused screams and the incessant firing in the Pianura and in the country round, accompanied by the loud song of war and the continual beating of the tambura, or drum, to call the Moors and Arabs to arms. Frequent parties of Moorish horsemen and foot soldiers, we distinctly saw by the light of the moon, passing with swiftness over the sands in pursuit of the Arabs. The death song breaking from different parts of the coun-

try, often announced to us the loss of some distinguished person on either side, who at that moment was numbered with the slain.

The enemy found a great quantity of ammunition and provisions in the remains of the old palace of Hamet the Great, where they had stationed themselves with the hope of subduing the country round the town of Tripoli. The resources they discovered in this palace had been left for them purposely by the Cyde of the Messeah (Scanderanni) when he deserted his charge and fled. A Moor, named Bussnina, a general of Sidy Useph's, during the night continually declared from the walls of the palace, that they had within plenty of supplies, and that it was in vain to attack them. The Moors, when they find themselves in imminent danger, frequently adopt desperate expedients without even a prospect of succeeding. Bussnina at day-break proposed to his soldiers an extraordinary measure, which they agreed to; and with less than two hundred men, in defiance of seven hundred of the Bashaw's people, they made a sortie from the palace, firing all their pieces at the same instant, which for the moment drove back their enemies, and gave them an opportunity of escaping in detached parties. One

of Sidy Useph's captains, a Russian renegado; and four heads of the slain, is all the spoil the Bashaw's people have brought into town. This skirmish has freed the Messeah in part, and left it again open to the people of the town.

The escape of this handful of people belonging to Sidy Useph, from nearly four times their number, is among the examples of courage on the one side and deficiency on the other, which happens here alternately to either party.

When the cannon was sent from the town on this occasion against the enemy, instead of being conveyed hence by carriages, horses, or even camels, as they usually are, each cannon was drawn from the castle out of town by thirty slaves, mostly decrepid old men; and when they met with any impediment, it took the slaves at least two hours to get the gun into a position for moving forward again. This is an instance of bad management; but the following circumstance is a still greater instance of bad policy. Late to-night four hundred Arabs arrived from Zavia, having been sent for to assist in recovering the Messeah from Sidy Useph. The Bashaw was so much displeased with them for coming too late to be of use, that he ordered

them all back without any recompence or refreshment. The Bey, however, ordered them supper; but the Arabs were so angry at the reception they met with, that they all went off, and, as might have been imagined, have joined Sidy Useph, by which he gains to his cause four hundred Arabs who came from the mountains to fight against him.

The Bashaw, on the following day, was so extremely ill, that his physician did not expect him to live. The Bashaw told the consuls that he had been poisoned, and he appeared to suspect the Bey so much, that nobody could speak to the prince at the levee for fear of offending his father.

Yesterday Sidy Useph and his people surrounded the great Friday Bazar, where meat, oil, vegetables, and all provisions, are sold in the gross. The people had previously been driven from it, and were glad, after losing what they had purchased, to escape with their lives. You may conceive what a serious misfortune this proves to all here, as none of the above articles are to be had in town at the present moment for money, and we have every prospect of being terribly distressed before these disturbances are over.

June 2, 1792.

Sidy Useph, since the last skirmishes, has left us tolerably quiet: and it is some weeks since any of his people have been seen from hence. The gates of the town are open again daily, and the excursions of riding and walking a short distance into the country are again permitted us; but we do not expect this indulgence to continue long. Profiting of this short interval of liberty, and the town being more tranquil than usual, we have been to see a Grecian lady at the house of a Moorish merchant, who brought her here for himself a few months since. The merchant having sold some pearls and diamonds to the Christians, was induced to comply with the wishes expressed by the ladies present to see his fair Greek, their curiosity being greatly excited from the account he had given of her.

His mother and aunt received us: the latter regretted that she could not accompany us to her nephew's apartment, because he was at home, as, according to the custom of the country, she could not be seen in his presence in company with strangers; and his mother, she continued, could not go with us, as that would

be considered too great attention paid by her to a Greek slave: we were, therefore, under the necessity of being conducted to the apartments by an attendant. The lower part of the house was not so nice as Moorish houses are in general, but we found the merchant's apartments, which were under the direction of the Greek, neatly arranged and richly furnished. In the one we entered, we found the merchant and the Greek seated on a costly sopha; the Greek, who did not expect us, evidently appeared to have been weeping; on perceiving us she immediately rose. She was most elegantly dressed in the Moorish costume, and appeared very handsome. She stood the whole time we were there, not daring, in the presence of others, to sit down before her master, while he remained supinely stretched upon his satin sofa. On discovering that she was near her accouchement, Mrs. Tully was shocked at her standing so long, and intreated the merchant to order her to sit down, adding, that we must otherwise shorten our visit; he at length told her she might be seated, but not in a manner (as we perceived) to permit her to accept his offer, and she continued standing until Moorish sweetmeats and perfumes had been presented to us. Immediately after the collation was ended, the Greek retired, probably too

much fatigued to stand any longer. It being the fast of Ramadan when we paid this visit, though the Moors themselves cannot eat, they could not dispense with the etiquette of offering refreshments and perfumes to us.*

This merchant was born here, but he had resided the greater part of his life at Constantinople, where he made a great fortune by dealing in black and white slaves; and he put on all the airs of one of those inhuman traders, when it was observed to him, that as the Greek was so very handsome, and as he appeared so content with her, it would probably not be long before he would give her her liberty by marrying her. "Oh! no," said he, "if she has a boy now it may be lucky for her; but even then I may wish to sell her, which I could not do were I to marry her." He told us she was not above sixteen years old, and that she was brought up at a magnificent house at Constantinople, under a Gre-

* Here, as in the east, they cannot omit offering refreshments to those persons they wish to shew respect to who come to their houses, as it is considered the means by which they mark the degree of honour necessary to be paid their guests, and the refreshments and perfumes offered are always prepared according to the rank of those they entertain.

cian woman who lives by educating slaves and selling them, She bought this beauty, who was taken by the Turkish soldiers, at the age of six years, and brought her up among others expressly for the Seraglio. She had been treated by her with all the delicacy and luxury imaginable, and had been instructed in the fine arts and accomplishments, which the ladies of the Grand Signior are expected to possess. The merchant said, that the quickness of her comprehension and the brilliancy of her wit, had rendered her an object of particular admiration to those with whom she was educated, and that it was owing only to the circumstance of the woman who had possession of her being distressed for money, that had induced her to let him have her at the price he gave for her, which he owned was not more than an eighth part of her value, had an opportunity offered for disposing of her to the Seraglio.

We took leave of the merchant soon after the Greek retired, not expecting to see her again; but on going to take leave of his mother, we found the Greek with her: she still looked very melancholy. A lady of our party spoke to her in Greek: on hearing herself addressed in her own language, she seemed to recover her spirits, and spoke confidentially of herself. She com-

plained of her great disappointment in being sold to this slave trader, as she termed him; and she confirmed what the merchant said, that had her mistress been more wealthy she would have kept her for a better offer, when she might have been purchased for the Seraglio, or for some high officer about the Porte.

She observed, the obligation she formerly had to study the taste and elegance of her dress was no longer necessary, as it was her fate to live among those who neither admired dress nor even found cleanliness necessary. "My music, my voice, my painting," said she, "and all the little accomplishments which I have learned, are lost upon this trader: he is pleased with none of them, as he is perfectly ignorant of them all." She complained that he would not let her go to the baths, as he said it was too expensive to send her there regularly, in the style she ought to go in as belonging to him, and therefore she was obliged to get up at the adan (break of day) to bathe, to avoid having a parcel of awkward dirty people about her; while at Constantinople, even at her mistress's house, there were fine baths, which she went to with a number of blacks to attend her, who carried with them rich perfumes and muslins for her use. She told

as she wore the Turkish habit, till mughtube (fate) had made her the merchant's property; he then obliged her to change her dress for the Moorish costume, and alter her name from Celatia, which she was called at that time, for Mahbooba. A mahboob is a Turkish coin made of fine gold without alloy, the merchant therefore gave her this name, as emblematical of herself. She brought us some of the caps she wore with her Turkish dresses; they resembled a bright crimson beaver, made upon a block exactly like those worn by the Moorish men here, with the addition of a large tassel at the top of different coloured silks, and an embroidery of gold spangles round the foot of the tassel: those who can afford it use jewels instead of spangles. Round these caps are worn a large turban of painted or gold and silver muslin, with long rich ends to it; of these turbans she shewed us some very beautifully painted and embroidered by herself. She described to us the situation of herself and companions as very happy under the tuition of the woman they were with, whom none of them left, even to go to the Seraglio, without regret. After talking with her some time, we left her in better spirits than we found her; but she wept when we departed, and entreated us to come and see her again.

July 20, 1792.

As the suburbs of Tripoli still remain clear from Sidy Useph's people, we rode out yesterday afternoon to the westward. Though we have often taken the same ride, I have not mentioned to you the antiquity of this part before. Here is one of the famous Roman highways, leading from this place to Tunis: it is called by the Moors the great western road. For some miles from Tripoli it has undergone no change whatever, but remains in the same state as the Romans left it. It is extremely broad and smooth, and there are still existing remains of houses the work of former ages, many of them built of stone by the Romans; this country being inhabited at different periods by the Carthaginians, the Phœnicians, and Vandals, and forming one of the provinces of the vast empire of Rome. The ruins of edifices built by each of these nations are found at no very great distance all around us: and what once formed the region of Tripolis is yet easy to be traced. Of the three famed cities, Leptis Magna, Sabrata, and Æo, which gave the name of Tripolis to this district, the site only of the latter is at present an inhabited town: but the ruins I have already mentioned at Leptis, the relics of the

Vandal towns and fortifications seen thence, including the vestiges of Sabrata, still remain; and at Tripoli, the magnificent arch I have described, and other remains of antiquity, remind us of its former possessors.*

A part of the great western road from Tunis to Tripoli cannot be passed without great danger on account of wild beasts, which not unfrequently attack passengers, in spite of the precautions taken to prevent their approach. The Bashaw's physician, a Sicilian, performed this tremendous journey by land with his wife and two children not long since. He joined an immense caravan; that being the only method by which

* The ground between this and Tunis is enriched with great treasures of money, buried by Arabs, Moors, and Turks, to secure it from their despotic masters, to save it from the rapacity of their enemies, or to conceal it in the hour of pestilence, when rendered by sickness unable to defend their property from such as might be inclined to take advantage of their distressed state: and as only the head of the family, or the chief of a tribe, knows where this wealth is deposited, it frequently happens that he dies without divulging the *spot* where it is laid. This extraordinary custom is prevalent in most parts of Africa, which by this means contains many curious articles, and large sums of money, deposited in the bowels of the earth for many centuries back, which may never be found.

he could traverse the deserts, and proceeded in safety to this place. One of these caravans, consisting of from four to five hundred persons, which are increased soon after they set out to as many thousands, sets out every year from Tunis to purchase slaves in Guinea. The whole of them sometimes perish from the dangers and fatigues of the journey; or, buried altogether under mountains of sand, are heard of no more. The Sicilian has often described to us the gloomy and impenetrable forests they passed, where the repeated howlings of wild beasts, excited by the scent of the cattle accompanying the caravan, were increased and heightened as it drew nearer their horrible dens. Sometimes the caravan was constrained to remain for several days near these woods, to avoid the approaching hurricane in the desert they were about to pass through; for by the aspect of the heavens, those who frequent the deserts can often foresee these dreadful winds many hours before they happen. No sooner were the tents pitched and the caravan become stationary, than a peculiar noise in the forest announced the wild beasts verging to the borders of it, there to wait a favourable opportunity to rush out and seize their prey. The dreadful roar of the lion was not heard during the day; but when the darkness came on, con-

tinued murmurs announced him, and his voice, getting louder, broke like peals of thunder on the stillness of the night. The panther and the tiger were seen early in the evening to make circuits nearer and nearer round the caravan. In the centre of it were placed the tents with the women, children, and flocks; the cattle were ranged next; and the camels, horses, and dogs last. One chain of uninterrupted fires encircling the whole, were kept continually blazing every night. On the least failure of these fires, the lion was instantly heard to come closer to the caravan. At his roar, the sheep and lambs shook as if in an ague; the horses, without attempting to move, were instantaneously covered with a strong perspiration from their terror; the cries of the cattle were distressing; the dogs started from every part of the caravan, and assembling together in one spot, seemed endeavouring by their united howlings to frighten away the savage devourer, from whose tremendous power nothing was able to save them but a fresh blaze of fire. Twice during this journey the lion was seen to carry off his prey, each time a sheep, to the universal terror of the affrighted spectators, who in vain with fire-arms endeavoured to prevent him. Fortunately for the caravan, sheep are the lion's favourite food,

therefore, though he passed their horses, camels, and cattle, and was in the midst of their tents, he was satisfied with selecting a victim from their flocks.

The Sicilian observed that to the caravan the sight of a tiger would have been infinitely more dreadful, since his favourite food is man.

To return to our ride in that part of the Messeah where the great western road begins, we saw patches of ground making the most singular appearance. The land seemed every where thickly set with the finest cut chrystal, acquiring beautiful colours and lustre from the sun, in the manner of jewels. The plant that occasioned this extraordinary effect was called by the Moors, as it is by us, the barilla, which they burn to ashes and use in making soap. The Moors gather and burn it on the coast, and the Christians pay the Bashaw for leave to carry it away. It forms a very considerable trade from this place to Europe. Though they are in possession here of the barilla plant, no soap is made in Tripoli; all that is used is brought in jars from Tunis, where it is made; and that kingdom draws hence an immense sum annually for the soap consumed here.

We saw in the fields, among the barilla plant, many of the famed devouring locusts, which in clouds actually darken at times the rays of the sun in Egypt. They resemble in shape a grasshopper, but are thicker and larger, and are of a light brown colour. Fortunately for this country, they seldom commit depredations here as in Egypt; yet they sometimes occasion serious apprehensions to the Moors, who dread their numbers increasing so as to make their approach fatal to the harvest.

We have had some weeks respite from Sidy Useph's attacks; but we again expect his return hourly, as the Moors come in continually from the Messeah with accounts of having seen parties of his horsemen on the sands.

August 17, 1792.

Sidy Useph's famous marabut Fataisi arrived to-day, with letters for the Bashaw. But as he was not permitted (on account of his last intended treachery to the Bey) to enter the town and deliver the letters himself, he would not part with them, and carried them back, saying that Sidy Useph, finding his letters returned unopened, would consider it as a signal for renewing hostilities, and that he expected reinforcements

from Tunis, which were already on the way: and this evening we saw, to the westward, Sidy Useph's people with their horses in great numbers.

The Venetians have a second time offered their assistance to the Bashaw, which he has again declined. The Venetian galliots sailed hence some weeks since, carrying ostriches, antelopes, and parrots, as presents from the consul for the Doge of Venice.

It is asserted that the ostrich will eat iron. That they may, but that they do not always digest what they eat, we have had a recent and singular proof. While the above-mentioned ostriches were at the Venetian house, some days previous to their being embarked, a silver snuff-box was missing. One of the ostriches died soon after it was on board; and the captain of frigate, regretting the loss of the ostrich consigned to his care for the Doge, had the bird opened on board, to ascertain the cause of its death. Within the stomach was found some pieces of a broken lantern, nails, keys, and the identical snuff-box, which from its size and shape, proved too much for the ostrich to digest, and consequently caused its death.

The Arabs, when they go to hunt these birds, carry with them no other provision than wheat wetted with water. They take no other nourishment than this sorry food till they find an ostrich, which they roast and feed on, while enjoying the thought of the treasures its feathers will yield them. The Arabs will follow an ostrich for six or seven days successively, by which time it is so fatigued for the want of food and rest, that it easily suffers itself to be taken, and the feathers are considered as a full reward for the laborious trouble of taking it. The prime feathers, in the first state they are taken from the bird, will fetch from one to three sequins here. While the ostrich is pursued, to annoy its enemies, it makes use of an ingenious expedient, which often proves efficacious; it is that of kicking up large stones with its foot, and casting them with great strength and dexterity behind it, by which the dogs are often stunned or wounded. The ostrich is as quick in its pace, when pursued, as a horse. They are too heavy to fly, but their wings serve them as sails, and they partly glide over the sands while endeavouring to escape their pursuers. One of these birds was lately dressed here, merely out of curiosity. The most delicate part of its body resembles the coarsest beef: one of its eggs made three large

dishes of omelet, too strong in flavour and smell to be tasted without disgust: and another egg was made into cakes and fried, and appeared like toasted crumpets. The whole repast was too disagreeable to be partaken of by Europeans, but some Moors who were present ate of it with pleasure.

August 19, 1792.

The Bashaw and Bey, being in continual fear of Sidy Useph's attacks, are obliged to keep constantly a party of Arabs here to oppose him. This is done at an enormous expense, and with much annoyance to the place, as the manners of the Arabs are better suited to their wild hordes among the mountains, than to the more civilized inhabitants of towns. The liberties taken by the Arabs here often occasion dreadful disturbances between them and the Tripolitans.

Notwithstanding the great charge the Bey is put to at present, he has little or no support from his father, nor is he ferocious enough to exact so much from his subjects as to leave them without food for themselves in order to supply him. His resources have hitherto been drawn from the people in so mild a manner, as hardly to resem-

ble the laws of a Moorish prince. He is so extremely embarrassed at present, that after being greatly distressed for many weeks past, he to-day thought of calling the consuls together, to raise a contribution or loan for him on any terms they pleased. But some of his friends persuaded him against this measure, and advised him to oblige the Jews to open their coffers, they having refused to lend him more money. Nothing being yet determined on, his people are going round the town, and actually planning the means to procure victuals for the Bey's family, barley for his horses, and provision for the Arabs, who are without the gates round the walls of the town, and expected every moment to revolt and go off, on account of their provisions being so long delayed. A few hours will bring to a crisis this unpleasant situation.

In the mean time, that you may form an idea of the alarms in which the Christians live here, I shall give you an anecdote of this evening. In the first place, I must inform you that it is at present customary to have a general party, or (as the Italians term it) a conversazione, alternately at each of the consuls' houses, where all the rest of the families meet. As the consular houses are so extremely well guarded and se-

cured, and a number of servants in them, they are always considered perfectly safe.

To-night, the party not being at our house, there remained but one lady and myself at home. An attendant, who was waiting on us at tea, suddenly left the room; we immediately heard an unusual noise below, and as the voice of a Greek servant was predominant, we concluded it was a quarrel between him and the Moors, and were much terrified for fear of mischief, as the Greeks are dreadfully vindictive. On our enquiring the cause of the noise, we learnt that twenty-five Moors had entered the skiffar (or hall), and that more than double the number were endeavouring to force their way into the house. The guard, who is stationed in the skiffar, had ordered the door to be shut on those who were in, to prevent more from entering. The first object that struck us was a Moor in a most violent passion, with a knife absolutely bent double in his hand, which he was straitening against the wall, where he stood. There was so much confusion at first, that it was not understood whether the people in the skiffar were this man's enemies or friends: we therefore expected every minute to see him stabbed at our feet. Before our surprise and terror had

subsided, an alarm having been given, we were consoled by the appearance of the consul: the house and the front before the doors was immediately cleared of the Moors: only the dreadful wretch who was still straitening his knife remained, a pale and ghastly object. While he was endeavouring to give an account of himself, and while the violence of his feelings rendered every explanation vain, his master, who proved to be the Bashaw's grandson, Sidy Mahmoud, arrived. He directly asked the consul if he would save his favourite servant (pointing to the Moor, who had still the bent knife in his hand). He entreated him to let him remain in the house, which being a sanctuary, he would be safe even from the Bashaw's guards, till something further could be done in his favour. Sidy Mahmoud assured the consul that his servant was not the aggressor, and that he was perfectly excusable in the affray that had happened. While the Bashaw's grandson was yet speaking, intelligence was brought that the man was dying whom his servant had stabbed: his master now applied more strenuously to the consul to protect him, but he was told his servant would be given up the moment it was known that the man he stabbed was dead; yet that he might take the Moor with him, if he did it instantly, while

there was a chance of the other man's recovery. The Bashaw's grandson was then going to take the Moor with him, but the son of the Dugganeer, who had accompanied him to our house, told him it was hazarding his own person too much, and that it would incur the Bashaw's displeasure were it known. He then desired him to wait a few minutes, and he would himself return with a sufficient force to fight the man's way out of town, without his appearing in the matter. He returned immediately with several men armed, and himself disguised in a black baracan; and having brought the servant of the Bashaw's grandson another knife and two pistols, he placed him in the midst of his people, and walked off with him. Sidy Mahmoud, after making many apologies for the disturbance his servant had occasioned, returned to his house.

August 20, 1792.

The walls of the town were too well guarded last night, on account of Sidy Useph, for the servant of Sidy Mahmoud to get past the gates, but this morning, at the adan, or break of day, he was conveyed out of town to the great marabut on the sands, where he will remain while they intercede with the Bashaw to pardon him.

To conclude the account I gave you of the Bey's distress last night, the Jews, to avoid being compelled, advanced of themselves further sums of money to the Bey's treasurer; but the food for the Arabs, the barley for the horses, and the provisions for the Bey's own family, owing to these difficulties, were not ready till many hours after the usual time, which occasioned such confusion among the Arabs, that it was hardly possible to prevail on them this morning to remain.

September 25, 1792.

Though in a remote part of the world, distant from Europe, we lately witnessed some of the effects of the revolution in France.

On the fourteenth of last July, the crews of several French vessels came on shore, to celebrate the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile, and of the general oath of allegiance taken in the Champ de Mars. They sung the horrid song of *ça ira*, and danced the festive dance on the sea-side; but on discovering their intentions of planting the tree of liberty on shore, the consuls applied in time to the Bashaw, and easily persuaded him to prevent this from taking

place. Exasperated at finding all endeavours fruitless to accomplish their design, the French sailors became insolent to the Tripolitans; they came on shore constantly with concealed arms; and some evenings ago they rose upon the Moors, and occasioned such a riot in the Piazza, that it was with great difficulty we were safely conducted through the square, while returning to our house. Some Moors having suffered in this affray, the Bashaw sent for the French consul, to desire that no Frenchmen should land, unless the consul would be responsible for their not bringing arms with them. The consul is a loyalist, and as the commanders and crews of the French vessels are all *sans-culottes*, it renders the situation of the former very serious; and this affair may probably end in the consul being denounced to the National Assembly in France, by some democrat of these crews.

A number of the French sailors went some days ago to measure with cords one of the castles of defence here. The Bashaw was very angry at this, and again ordered them to be kept on board; but, averse to discipline, the crews regard no command. Since this event, a son of one of the French captains carried a gun with him into the Messeah, and shooting about at

random, wounded a Moorish youth, for which he very narrowly escaped falling a sacrifice to the vengeance of the Moor. They pelted him with stones, and drove him to the castle-yard; where he was detained by the guards till the sum of four pataques had been paid for him to the Moorish boy's friends, four to the servants of the Chiah, and two to the hampers, or guards, who had charge of him, in all about four pounds sterling, and he was at length dismissed with positive orders not to appear on shore again. This circumstance rendered the French crews a little more circumspect, and they sailed a few days since.

October 5, 1792.

The seasons have been particularly dry at Tripoli for the last two years; but the fatal effects of the want of rain has never struck us so forcibly as to-day. Owing to a strong land-wind, which has blown incessantly with increasing heat for the last five days, several Moors coming off the sands into the town have perished, who might have been saved could they have obtained in time a draught of water. Four people died to-day literally of thirst: they were with a caravan just arrived from the deserts, and expired

a few minutes before they reached town. Not a drop of rain has descended from the atmosphere for several months, and such a dearth of water occasions the intense heat of the air to become in many instances fatal. The air here is heated to that degree at present, that the insects cannot resist it. Scorched to death, they drop in numbers from the burning atmosphere. It is not usual for these extraordinary winds to blow here successively for more than three or four days: if they do, the heat, which is then dreadful, increasing rapidly to the ninth, sometimes to the tenth day, renders respiration so difficult as to occasion death. Since we have been here, we have not witnessed the violence of these winds so strong as at the present period. On account of their dreadful effect, the generality of the Moors wear a silk handkerchief tied over the face when they walk the streets, to prevent blindness, occasioned by the burning sand, which comes in such quantities as to darken the sky, the azure blue of which, and the brightness of the sun at intervals, shew more strikingly to what a degree the finest sands brought from the deserts obscure their lustre.

At such a distressing period as the present, the ruins of a fine aqueduct near the gates of this city,

which was in high order in Hamet the Great's time, and conveyed plenty of water to town, reproach the Moors with their shameful neglect of it. This useful edifice has been suffered to moulder away arch by arch, ever since we have been here, though it at first appeared easy to be repaired; but the Moors never think of repairing, and will often build upon accumulated rubbish rather than take the trouble of removing it. This apathy to industry is not confined to the Moors of Tripoli: in Egypt some of their finest harbours are lost, while others are daily destroyed for want of removing the rubbish, which from time to time unavoidably accumulates in them. From the want of this aqueduct, Tripoli has for many years been supplied only with rain-water collected in cisterns, which in taste, brightness, and coolness, is the finest imaginable.

November 22, 1792.

A few days since the melancholy news arrived from Morocco of the death of the ambassador, Hadgi Abderrahman, sincerely lamented by all those who knew him, Christians as well as Moors. According to the etiquette of this country, every body visited immediately his disconsolate family.

Were I not to give you a minute description of what passed during the visit we paid them, you could not imagine a scene so extraordinary and melancholy as that we witnessed on this occasion, or suppose customs so barbarous could still exist among people in any degree civilized.

When we entered the house, we found it filled with an immense crowd of mourners: the ambassador's sisters and other relations were there. His widow and daughters, besides the natural sorrow they felt for their loss, were wound up to such a height of agony and despair, that their countenances and figures were entirely changed. Abderrahman's widow was weeping over the bier raised in the middle of the court-yard, fitted up with awnings for the purpose; and round it the blacks were deploring her loss. As soon as she perceived we were there, she came towards us, but immediately sunk down, and was carried senseless into the apartments. Lilla Amnani and Abderrahman's eldest daughter had ashes strewed upon their hair, but the youngest daughter was almost covered with them. The sufferings of this family, so aggravated by the dreadful outcries of their friends and the strangers round them, were shocking to behold.

To such scenes we may suppose for our consolation the greatest number of people here are become accustomed, and do not suffer so acutely; but there are many, who, from their great affection for the departed, and their delicacy of feelings, are by no means capable of bearing these strong emotions: they either fall a sacrifice to them at the moment, or languish out the remainder of their days in a debilitated state.

The lamentations of the servants, slaves, and people hired on this occasion were horrid. With their nails they wounded the veins of their temples, and causing the blood to flow in streams sprinkled it over the bier, while they repeated the song of death, in which they recounted all the most melancholy circumstances they had collected on the loss of Abderrahman, and ended every painful account with piercing outcries of "*wulliah woo!*" in which they were joined by the whole of the immense numbers of Moorish mourners who were present.

The real sufferings of the nearest relations of the deceased had not a moment's respite: even that stupor which nature yields to, when nearly exhausted, was roused into anguish by every new condoler; many of whom came up to Ab-

derrahman's widow and his eldest daughter, and locking them in their arms, screamed over them till the poor exhausted mourners sunk from their embraces to the earth, overwhelmed with these cruelly repeated horrors.

Unable to bear this scene longer than a short hour, we left them, promising to see them the next day, which was unavoidable, as a refusal would have been considered most unfriendly. When we departed, Lilla Amnani was conducted by her attendants to the skiffar to meet Sidy Hamet, Abderrahman's son, who was waiting there to embrace his mother. He hung upon her and wept, and endeavoured to console her in the most tender and affectionate manner; his condolences forming a striking contrast with those she had just been receiving. His not being able to proceed farther into the house than the skiffar was the reason Lilla Amnani went to meet him; for though the lower order of females might have veiled themselves while he passed, he could not enter within the house, on account of the women of distinction who were assembled there to mourn for his father.

We went the next morning as we had promised, hoping to find them a little calmer, but,

on the contrary, they were still more agitated. The first deplorable object we beheld was Lilla Uducia, Abderrahman's eldest daughter. Her countenance was so altered that we scarcely knew her: her temples were not injured like those of the hired people, but her face was disfigured by excessive grief; her hair hung uncombed and unplaited; she was pale and emaciated; and not being able to support herself, was leaning on her blacks. She accompanied us to an apartment where we found the Greek (Lilla Amnani) and her daughter, who had sat up all night, and looked very ill. We had been there but a few minutes when Lilla Amnani and Lilla Uducia returned to mourn over the bier. We endeavoured to keep them away from it, but could not attempt to dissuade them much from what they considered a duty and a compliment to the departed. They endeavoured themselves to prevent the youngest daughter from going to the bier, particularly as this young lady, not having been married, was under the necessity of keeping a silk handkerchief tied close over her face, to avoid being seen by any strangers, and the great heat would now render her situation insupportable. She insisted on being led to the bier, promising to return very soon; but when they attempted to lead her back she threw

herself on it. As it would have been sacrilege to force her from the bier, they were obliged to let her remain till they perceived she had fainted; they then brought her to her mother's apartment, where Lilla Amnani and Lilla Uducia lamented over her a long time before she recovered. It is incredible to relate, that no sooner did she resume the appearance of life, than a Moorish friend of consequence, who was sitting by her, began describing to her the situation of her father in the grave, which this lady, in figurative language, painted in the strongest colours; saying, that his eyelids were closed never to be again opened, that his fine beard lay neglected and uncombed, that the sand had filled the hollow of his ear, that the worm was feasting on his cheek, that he died from his family in a distant kingdom; and various similar ideas, sufficient, one would have thought, to drive to madness the unfortunate listener, who, at the end of her friend's speech, sunk again senseless by her side.

To shew further the manners of this country, on these occasions; when the news of the ambassador's death was received at the castle, the Bashaw, to testify his friendship to Abderrahman, and as a compliment to his family, sent

his black women and servants with orders, the moment they reached the yard of Abderrahman's house, to set up an outcry altogether; which they did. Lilla Uducia and the Greek hearing the noise, came in alarmed from their apartments to learn the cause. The Greek was immediately surrounded by the black women, who pulling off her baracan, threw it with rage upon the ground; they then unfastened her ear-rings and threw them down; and, taking off the rest of her jewels, ended with the words, "Scream for your husband! scream for your father?" to Lilla Uducia, who stood motionles by, "scream "for the ambassador, he is dead!" The blacks then vociferated the usual lamentations of "*wulliah woo!*" altogether. In this unaccountable manner were Lilla Amnani and Lilla Uducia first made acquainted with their loss.

When we left them to-day, the family were mourning over biers erected in three different parts of the house. The youngest daughter, who could no longer bear her face covered, had one placed in her apartment, where she remained to mourn over it with her slaves and servants. The Greek, and Lilla Uducia, with ladies from the castle, were mourning in Lilla Amnani's apartments; and the rest of the

people were round the bier we first saw in the court-yard.

These dreadful lamentations not long since were extended to seven days, they are now reduced to three: how happy for the unfortunate sufferers were they altogether abolished. When this ceremony ends, a dinner will be dressed and given away to all who come for it. To-day they send bread and oil in great profusion to the marabuts, as an offering for the peace of the departed; and to-night they dress the supper of the grave, which is portioned out to the crowds of poor who assemble at the gates of the house.

December 20, 1792.

We have been to-day to see the royal family, after having been absent from the castle some months, owing to the very unsettled state of the place, which has made it impossible for Christians to go thither.

We found Lilla Hallema and the princesses in tolerable spirits; and though we went to pay them but a short visit, they detained us till after sunset, alleging that there was nothing to fear, as Sidy Useph was not in the

castle. The Bashaw and the Bey came in each by himself. The Bashaw remained till the hour of his retiring to dinner, when he dispenses with the attendance of Lilla Halluma, who, according to the custom of the country, should stand by him while he eats; but the Bashaw is only accompanied by his black women and his favourite Jewess Queen Esther.

Soon after the Bey and the Bashaw had departed, a collation was served in the covered gallery before Lilla Halluma's apartment. As the party to-day consisted only of Lilla Halluma, three of the princesses, and our family, we had the pleasure of seeing them all sit down with us, instead of Lilla Halluma walking round the table, attended by the princesses, and conversing alternately with the guests; which she does if there are any Moorish nobility at dinner, as it is considered too great a condescension in her to sit down and eat with her subjects. Lilla Halluma's urbanity, and the dignity of her manners, were as usual equally engaging and fascinating, nor could those of the most polished sovereign in Europe have been more striking; with this infinite advantage, that court duplicity forms no part of her character. You would have smiled to have seen us seated on costly

cushions on the ground, round an ivory table inlaid with gold, not twelve inches high, with plenty of variegated spoons of coral, ebony, ivory, mother-of-pearl, and tortoise-shell, chiefly inlaid with pearls and precious stones, but according to custom, all of us without knives, forks, or plates.

The number of attendants exceeded by far that of the company: not less than two or three blacks attended on each of the guests, and supplied them amply with gold embroidered towels and scented waters.

The table is always covered with forty or fifty dishes,* each of which is taken off by a black

* Besides several different sorts of fricassees, and of roast, boiled, and forced meats, the first and last of which are made very savoury. The richer part of the Turks and Moors mix up a variety of dishes with almonds, dates, sweetmeats, milk, honey, &c. which it would be too tedious to enumerate. I have seen at some of their festivals more than two hundred dishes, whereof forty at least were of different kinds. All the orders and degrees of their people, from the Bedouin to the Bashaw, eat in the same manner, washing first their hands and then sitting cross-legged round a mat, or low table, upon which their dishes are placed.

Shaw's Travels, p. 297. Oxford, 1738.

and handed round to the company, to help themselves; but to-day, Lilla Halluma, to let her company have the dinner hot, ordered it to be served in the true Turkish style. Only one dish was brought in at once, and they extended to a number not easy to be remembered accurately. This mode of serving caused a very considerable time to be spent at the repast.

Another table was ready prepared, where among dried and fresh fruits, and various sherbets (instead of wine), were some curious specimens from Constantinople, Egypt, and this country, displaying different ways of preparing confectionary, and light beverage. Among the confectionary, were orange and lemon flowers, the cocoa-nut highly preserved, and the juice of numerous fruits converted into hard cakes of sweetmeat.

Anecdotes, similar to several in the Arabian tales, in all but fiction, enlivened the glass, not of wine, but of sherbet. To many of the pieces of china, or other ornaments of the dessert, was annexed some interesting account. Lilla Halluma bid us observe some china vases, which contained preserves of orange flowers. These vases, of the most beautiful Neapolitan china, were a

present from her favourite grandson, Sidy Marmoud; but she told us at the same time, they were the gift of the Prophet, to remind her how near she was losing him, at the time he was collecting them for her at Naples, where he lost his heart to Lady Hamilton, and brought back her miniature set with brilliants. Lilla Halluma, who was extremely religious, shuddered to think how far his Mahomedan faith might have suffered by that fascinating fair one, and bid the princess next to her relate to us the following events, which she did nearly in these words.

When Sidy Mahmoud left this country as ambassador for Naples, he was betrothed to a young lady named Selima, of Turkish descent, and his remorse for having neglected her, nearly cost him his life after his return to Tripoli. You will ask whence this acute feeling in Sidy Mahmoud for his disappointed bride, whom, by the laws of his country, he could not have seen till after the celebration of his marriage with her. But notwithstanding the severest restrictions of the Prophet Mahomet on this point, and the seclusion of a female's life, yet by the help of emissaries (which for money are to be found in this country on all occasions), those betrothed sometimes obtain, with difficulty and danger, a

distant view of each other, and even learn each other's sentiments. From intelligence procured in this manner, the parties after being engaged, will often, one or both, so strongly oppose their intended nuptials, as to sacrifice life and fortune, rather than submit to the union, which their parents, on both sides, have frequently planned from the moment of their children's birth. Sidy Mahmoud, accustomed to the extravagant ideas of this country, considered his being betrothed to a stranger as a matter of indifference. He heard the lady had youth and beauty, he knew she was rich, and he felt himself satisfied in inquiring no farther. It was not so with his destined bride: she left nothing undone to discover his character, and gain a sight of his person. She soon satisfied herself in both these wishes, and was enraptured to find the result surpassed her warmest imaginations. But on repeated inquiries, finding Sidy Mahmoud betrayed not the least curiosity relative to herself, Selima grew melancholy, and was offended at the coldness of his conduct, so ill suited to her own ideas.

When the Bey with his suite took the diversion of racing on the sands, Sidy Mahmoud generally accompanied him. The road the Bey took

obliged them always to pass the residence of Selima. From the moment this lady learned she was intended for the bride of Sidy Mahmoud, she never failed, by different contrivances, to gain a sight of him from her father's golphor, which required the greatest circumspection; ladies not being permitted to enter it, though it is known they often infringe this rule. Selima used to see from hence the Bey and Sidy Mahmoud pass leisurely on their horses close under the walls of her father's garden, where the golphor was situated, and had the latter experienced the slightest wish to see his intended bride, he might have here expected a chance of satisfying his desires. One day, in particular, the Bey stopped to talk a long time with the father of Selima, who had been riding out with him. The agitated Selima watched Sidy Mahmoud; but he turned no inquiring eye to the building, nor bestowed a look on the jealousies of the golphor, whence the anxious Selima had been so often disappointed, by Sidy Mahmoud's want of curiosity, that she was at last confined by illness, and not able to continue longer her visits thither.

For Selima's declining health, in vain were all the Dervizes in Tripoli consulted. Lambs

were sacrificed; oil and provisions were carried daily to the mosques; sentences from the Koran were written by the sacred hand of the Iman, burnt to ashes, mixed in wine, and drank by the fair sufferer; but nothing availed. The bloom of Selima's cheek disappeared, and her friends trembled for her life: she became too ill to leave her apartments, and saw none but her nearest relatives. At length an ingenious plan was contrived to satisfy her scruples with regard to Sidy Mahmoud: but whether the means by which Selima gained the satisfaction of being seen by her intended lord were contrived by her own relations, or that one of her attendants, who is very much attached to her, had ventured to accomplish such an event without her mistress's orders, remains a profound secret.

At this time the brother of Selima, who was very fond of her, and the most intimate friend of Sidy Mahmoud, gave an entertainment to the latter in his father's golphor (the same whence the anxious Selima had so often watched him). On these occasions, when feasts are given by the gentlemen of the house, the greatest precautions are taken that none of the ladies of the family may risk being exposed to view.

Selima considered the entertainment her brother meant to give Sidy Mahmoud as an addition to her sufferings, as it was given solely in consequence of her intended nuptials; at the thought of which she now shuddered, being fully persuaded that Sidy Mahmoud's extreme indifference about herself was the effect of an attachment he had to some happier object.

While all in the house were anxiously busy, preparing for her brother's guest, Selima's most confidential attendant, named Ismaini, came to her and sat down by her side as she lay on her couch. Selima, out of humour, did not wish to be disturbed, and ordered her attendant to retire; but Ismaini informed her that her favourite Gibeleen (mountain woman), the wife of one of her father's gardeners who lived in the garden, was dying, and in the greatest affliction, because she wished to see Lilla Selima on some particular occasion, and knew she durst not ask a thing so impracticable. When the voice of affliction called, Selima was all attention; she concluded it was some last favour this poor woman had to ask, and she determined to wrap herself cautiously up in her baracan, and venture with Ismaini into the garden, to a little cottage she had given to this Gibeleen.

Selima found the poor woman in the state she was led to expect, apparently very ill, and laying down; but it was not till after she had been with her a considerable time, that she noticed the figure of a country woman who sat on the bed-side and supported the invalid. Struck with this figure remaining closely veiled all this time (which conduct amounted to a mark of disrespect in her presence), she hastily inquired who this woman was, and why she remained with her face concealed before her, and was told it was a friend from the mountains to see the Gibeleen, who was ashamed to uncover herself in Selima's presence; and she was entreated to forgive her ignorance and not to be angry with her. While this was passing, the figure suddenly disappeared. Selima felt herself uneasy and alarmed, and immediately left the cottage. As she retired, she questioned Ismaini and threatened to forbid her her presence, but could gain no further intelligence concerning the stranger till the next morning; when Ismaini brought her a message from Sidy Mahmoud, entreating her to pardon the Gibeleen, whom he was told had displeased her; saying, he should consider her taking the Gibeleen under her protection again, as a favour done to himself.

Whether Selima received any other message in addition to the above, to inform her that Sidy Mahmoud was the figure in disguise who supported the sick mountaineer, is not known; but not only the Gibeleen was forgiven, but Ismaini became a still greater favourite.

After this event the fairies, or Sidy Mahmoud himself, kept Selima constantly informed of his proceedings; and on the days he went with the Bey to ride on the sands, she was always prepared beforehand with some new ornament of dress, and her toilet was infinitely longer than usual; while Sidy Mahmoud, accustomed to ride with ease the finest chargers, could not now get one to pass Selima's residence without difficulty: they were obstinate, took offence at the bridle, and occasioned such delays as led him frequently to alight, while his horse was examined and put to rights.

At this time the Bashaw fixed on Sidy Mahmoud to go as ambassador to Naples, which he endeavoured to avoid, disliking to leave the country which now held all that he esteemed worth living for, and he also dreaded the effect it would have on his fair Selima; but as the time for celebrating their wedding was yet

distant, the Bashaw would not admit Sidy Mahmoud's refusal, and he was obliged to depart for Naples.

While he was stationed in this vortex of dissipation, the charms, the very licentious manners of the Neapolitans, the brilliancy of the court, and its courtezans, had such an effect on the heart of the young ambassador, that he became for a time alive only to the delusive scenes in which he was engaged. During this period, malice brought an exaggerated account of his conduct to his faithful Selima. She had nearly fallen a victim to her feelings when Sidy Mahmoud returned to Tripoli, who, satiated before he had quitted the shores of Naples, and remembering no more the syrens he had left behind, thought again solely on his Selima, but dreaded the probability of her having heard of his amours.

When he arrived at Selima's residence, he was told her life was despaired of; and instead of preparations for his nuptials, found them busy preparing for her hourly expected dissolution. Artificial flowers lay about in abundance, and when his foreboding heart led him to ask for what purpose they were intended, he was in-

formed they were to ornament the bier of Selima. This unhappy account had such an effect on Sidy Mahmoud, that he was for several hours senseless and at the point of death. As soon as he recovered his reason, he had once more recourse to disguise. Concealed again as a female in a common baracan, he went to the faithful Ismaini, to whose assistance he owed the first sight he had obtained of Selima at the Gibeleen's cottage. Ismaini conducted him to the apartments of her mistress, and told her that this was a Tunisian woman with news concerning Sidy Mahmoud, and that she would not confide what she had to say to any one but herself; adding, that she would keep the avenues to the apartments clear till the Tunisian had delivered her message. It was with the greatest difficulty Ismaini prevailed on her mistress to let the stranger approach her, which when she did, Selima, with an emaciated look and feeble voice, desired she would not be too long in delivering what she had to say, as she was not able to attend to her, and hardly wished to waste any of the few moments she believed she had to live in talking or thinking again of Sidy Mahmoud, who had long forgotten her, and was too far off to reach her, even if he wished it, in time to see her before she fell a sacrifice to his infidelity: besides, said she, I am so alter-

ed, that he who was once surprized to see how beautiful I was, would now find no resemblance of me. Sidy Mahmoud, who under his disguise had attended to all she said, could hardly recover strength of voice enough to acquaint her with the events he wished to relate before he discovered himself. He succeeded, however, and while she wept at the account of his repentance and sufferings, he seized the favourable moment to shew himself to her. An event so unexpected called for the immediate assistance of Ismaini, who was nearer to her mistress at this crisis than she imagined. She caught the fainting Selima in her arms, and Sidy Mahmoud, wrapping himself closely up in his baracan, hastened to leave the house without being discovered by the attendants. Selima, to the surprize and joy of her friends, recovered her health rapidly from this hour, and they had soon the satisfaction of seeing her united to Sidy Mahmoud.

This strange circumstance, added the princess who was relating to us the story, has converted these artificial flowers, which were meant for bouquets to ornament the bier of Selima, into garlands to adorn these Neapolitan vases, and they were given so adorned to my mother by

Sidy Mahmoud, saying they would be a memento, that it had been in his power to change the destination of these flowers, and he hoped that circumstance would procure his pardon for having so nearly sacrificed the fair Selima, to whom he had long ago delivered Lady Hamilton's picture.

The sun had set before Lilla Halluma would suffer us to leave her. She had been in excellent spirits, but, unhappily, previous to our departure, very alarming intelligence was brought again of Sidy Useph. When the accounts arrived, contrary to the custom of not disturbing the Bashaw after sunset, the news was carried to him before we departed, that Sidy Useph with a strong force had halted within five miles of the town. Chaouxes were sent off to call in the Arabs from the west; the avenues to the harem, which had been left more open than usual latterly, were ordered now to be closed; and when we took our leave of Lilla Halluma all was suspicion and anxiety.

January 19, 1793.

Though it is near two months since the funeral ceremonies were performed at Lilla Amnani's

for the ambassador's death, yet she would not herself put on mourning till letters with the fatal news came directly to the family, according to the etiquette of the country. These letters are received, and the afflicted Lilla Amnani commenced her mourning yesterday.

The ceremonies performed by a Moorish lady when putting on and quitting her weeds will to you appear singular. Lilla Amnani, accompanied by her blacks and attendants, and perfectly concealed by the multiplicity of the coverings she wore, went to the seaside, where her hair was combed with a gold comb, and the tresses plaited with white silk mixed with them, instead of black; and she put on a white binder over her forehead, instead of a gold one ornamented with jewels, which she usually wears.

The period fixed for a widow's mourning is four months and ten days. At the expiration of that time, Lilla Amnani goes again to the seaside. The same gold comb she had used before is carried with her, and four fresh eggs; the eggs she gives to the first person she meets, who is obliged to receive them, were it even the Bashaw himself. With the eggs, it is imagined, she gives away all her misfortunes, consequently

no person likes to receive them; but this custom is so established, that not any one thinks of refusing them. She then proceeds to the sea-side, where her hair is combed a second time, and the comb thrown into the sea by herself; and she is then, and not before, at liberty to marry again.

We were with her yesterday: all superfluous articles of dress were put away, as well as those of furniture. To denote the house being in a state of mourning, neither curtains, looking-glasses, tapestry, nor carpets were to be seen, except what could not be dispensed with. The blacks had their caps turned the wrong side outwards, and wore neither silver nor beads. Lilla Amnani had neither her feet nor hands painted with henna; she wore no bracelets on her hands or ankles, nor had she any jewels. No perfumes or scented waters were allowed to be used, being considered articles of dress.

Hadgi Mahmute, the husband of Lilla Uducia, is expected daily from Morocco, where the ambassador died. Lilla Amnani feels now the very great advantage she has over Moorish widows, from having possessed so entirely Hadgi Abderrahman's confidence till his death. From

this circumstance, she remains without being in the least subject to any of his relations, but entirely mistress of his children and all that he has left.

January 23, 1793.

For some days continual messages have passed from Sidy Useph, at the Messeah, to the Bashaw, who is very strenuous with the Bey to have another conference with his brother; but to this the Bey entirely objects, and has been so alarmed for his own safety, that he has increased considerably the town-guard at night.

In consequence of the advice of a famous dervise, who came very lately from the mountains, and who was closeted with the Bashaw several hours yesterday, the Bashaw to-day, accompanied by the Bey, has been to the mosques to worship and make offerings to the prophet. In his way, he stopped at the residence of the shaik, who, according to the etiquette of the country, presented two of his blacks to the Bashaw, as an acknowledgment of the honour done him by his sovereign. On his return from the mosques, the Bashaw and the Bey passed

our house and drank coffee and sherbet with us. A friend in their suite sent to advise us of their coming, and the time was quite short enough to prepare refreshments for two or three hundred persons. The Bashaw appeared in good spirits, and said, in the Bey's hearing, that he did not doubt of Sidy Useph's returning to his duty, and that he yet hoped to see him live peaceably in the castle, and leave his brother in quiet possession of the throne. This speech, which every body was convinced was the effect of the conversation the Bashaw had had yesterday with the dervise, seemed to make a sad impression on the Bey, and indeed upon all present. Some of the Bashaw's officers of state told us they were sure the dervise had not come from the mountains without his instructions from Sidy Useph; and others expressed their serious fears that the Bashaw meant to give up the Bey, and that he would share the fate of his brother Hassam (the late Bey), and fall by the hands of assassins. Though they stopped some time, neither the Bashaw nor Bey alighted. In the way from our house, three marabuts (or saints) joined them, who were immediately led to the side of the Bashaw, and walking close by his horse, accompanied him to the castle.

Nothing can be more melancholy than to behold the country torn by such intestine broils as inevitably must destroy it.

February 28, 1793.

In consequence of the arrival of Hadgi Mahmute with the wreck of the presents for the Bashaw of Tripoli, which had been consigned by the late Emperor of Morocco to the ambassador Hadgi Abderrahman, we went to see his daughter this morning. Hadgi Mahmute gives the following account of the few last days of Hadgi Abderrahman's life, and the events which occasioned his death.

The late Emperor of Morocco was, as I have told you, exceedingly attached to the Bashaw, and in consequence of the present afflicted state of Tripoli, and the striking similarity of the Bashaw's sufferings and his own, both being occasioned by the unnatural conduct of their sons, the Emperor ordered immense presents to be given to the ambassador for the Bashaw, among which was an invaluable clock nearly covered with jewels, seven of the finest horses, rich saddles, arms, a number of beautiful slaves, men and women, and several large cargoes of wheat.

A vessel demanded by the Emperor from the Christians (which is always done on these occasions), was laying sumptuously fitted up in the harbour to convey the ambassador to Tripoli, with the greatest part of the presents on board. Hadgi Abderrahman had had his last audience of the Emperor, and gave an entertainment to his friends at Morocco the evening before he intended to depart. During this entertainment unexpected news was dispatched to the ambassador by some of his friends from the palace, to inform him, that the Emperor had suddenly set off to head his troops at Sallee against his rebellious son Muley Yesied, and that since his departure some of Muley Yesied's chief officers had arrived in town, and, by threats and persuasions, were endeavouring to prevail on the Emperor's ministers to lay an embargo on the vessels in the harbour, with a view to plunder them, if any accident befel the Emperor on his way, or in meeting with his son Muley Yesied.

The ambassador's health had been declining from repeated fatigues, and the many long and arduous embassies he had completed for his country. His frame, at his advanced age, was too weak to bear the shock this news gave him, at the moment his loyal heart

was distended with joy at the great success of this embassy, which he had considered as the last he should be able to undertake for his beloved master. He sunk back in his seat at the table, when he was instantly bled and put to bed. In the morning, as no embargo had yet been laid on the vessels, the ambassador, not being able to support himself, ordered a litter to be prepared to convey him immediately on board, without waiting for the part of the presents that were not yet embarked. His suite were assembled, and all things ready for his departure; when, in consequence of news having arrived at Morocco of the Emperor's death, on his way to Sallee, a royal mandate was presented in form, by the satellites of the new Emperor Muley Yesied, to prevent all persons from leaving Morocco on pain of death, and from removing an iota of their property from the capital, until further orders; and an embargo was laid at the same instant on all shipping in the port. Sinking under this last stroke of ill-fortune, the ambassador was carried back to his couch. He sent off couriers to the new Emperor, two of which were pursued and brought back in chains when thirty miles on their way to Sallee; and before the third was dispatched, the worthy Abderrahman, who had been four

days speechless, had fallen a martyr to the loyalty of his feelings.

Owing to the great confusion throughout the whole kingdom of Morocco, Sidy Mahmute, the son-in-law, and Hassead, the nephew of Hadgi Abderrahman, were threatened with being despoiled of all belonging to them, if they did not immediately leave Morocco without any of the presents.

A third courier was dispatched by Sidy Mahmute, at the hazard of his life, secretly at midnight, with hopes that the darkness of the night might be favourable to the beginning of his journey, and enable him to reach, undiscovered, the camp of the Emperor Muley Yesied, with petitions and remonstrances from Sidy Mahmute to recover the presents assigned for the Bashaw by his father. But though this courier succeeded in delivering his message to the Emperor, a watch, and a white horse caparisoned, were all that was obtained, out of the immense treasures destined for the Bashaw; and owing to the awkwardness of the Rais's fregategees, or sailors, in disembarking the horse from the vessel, it was obliged to be killed the moment it reached the shore.

Before Sidy Mahmute left Morocco, a great number of Muley Yesied's slaves, and some belonging to his sister, were brought for sale to the public market. The sister of Muley Yesied, out of respect to her father's memory, had freed five of her slaves; but they had, notwithstanding, been seized, and their papers of freedom taken from them; they were then stripped of their habits and all their ornaments, and, covered merely with a coarse woollen shift, were sent to the slave market and sold. Nothing could equal the distress of these unfortunate people, after having, for a few short hours, enjoyed the sweets of freedom, to find that, in defiance of the established custom of the Mahometans, who, when they free their slaves, free them for ever, they were thrown again immediately into slavery. Yet they consoled themselves with having quitted the country where Muley Yesied reigned, and that they were not taken back to his palace. They envied the fate of a very fine young woman who, with themselves, was freed at the Emperor's death. She had had the courage to set off instantly from Fez to Tunis, where, after having walked many hundred miles with the caravans across the African deserts, she was, through the compassion of Sidy Mahmute, brought with his blacks to Tripoli. They spoke

with despair of the difference between their situation and hers. She being free, is going in a few hours to join the caravan from Tripoli to Fezzan, her own country, at the moment her old companions in slavery will be embarked for different parts of the globe. Among the latter is a most extraordinary person: she was born in Asia at the foot of Mount Caucasus, a white negress, extremely mild in her manners and uncouth in her figure. Her hands, when she stood up, reached beyond her knees; her legs were likewise very long; her waist very short, and her shoulders as broad and as athletic as those of a strong man. Her hands and feet were astonishingly small for her size; her head was covered with white wool instead of hair; her complexion white, without a tinge of red in the cheek; her eyes light, with white eyelashes, and without the mark of an eyebrow. She spoke in a mixture of the Moorish and the black's tongue; the dialect of her native country, which is a nation of the Kesty, and has no resemblance to that of any known language, while their origin and manners are also totally unknown. She was stolen from her parents in her infancy by a party of the Offi, another of the Caucasian nations who live by the plunder of youth, whom they carry out of the country and sell. This woman

gave us a singular description of her situation in the family of Muley Yesied's sister.

When Muley Yesied used to visit his sister, which he generally did without being expected, all the blacks in her palace on his arrival immediately ran to hide themselves in chests, behind sacks of wheat, behind doors, or in any place, to escape being of the number the tyrant would wantonly and cruelly sacrifice on this occasion; and Muley Yesied, aware the blacks were afraid of him, would himself penetrate into all the parts of the palace he could, to search for them. One day this Caucasian seeing Muley Yesied approach the place where she was, and not being able to fly further out of his way, got behind a large wood-fire, on which was a great pot boiling, suspended by an iron hook. She concealed herself behind this pot and the smoke, and though she was dragged from thence the moment the tyrant disappeared, she was so dreadfully scorched, that she has remained marked with deep scars, notwithstanding it is a twelvemonth since this dreadful event happened. This poor slave was not alarmed that day without reason; Muley Yesied amusing himself with the blacks in a game of ball he had desired them to play at (and none dared refuse him), they were, un-

happily for them, struck with such panic, that many of them appeared in an ague fit, while diffidence in Muley Yesied's eyes always merited death. He accordingly destroyed six of the blacks, and a handsome Greek youth (one of his sister's mamelūkes) who could not help shuddering at his atrocities. To make up for this loss he sent twelve of his finest blacks to his sister that evening.

This princess, from the beauty of her person and the amiableness of her disposition, was named by her husband Cobah (or the morning star); her sister, for the same reason, was honoured by the high epithet with which the Mahometans adorn in letters of gold their cakes of opium, that is "Mashallah," or the Gift of God. These two princesses, reputed without a fault in their hearts or tempers, were, with the tyrant Muley Yesied, born of the same mother, who is as remarkable for the urbanity of her manners as her daughters, while Muley Yesied's talents, which might be reckoned bright, prove him any thing but a human being.

The dresses of the ladies at the court of Morocco are much lighter than those worn by the ladies of Tripoli. The favourite habit of the Lilla

Cobah is pale pink satin, covered with drapery of transparent muslin, fastened under each arm with braces of light blue velvet, almost covered with diamonds; and a sash of the same covered with precious stones, and gold embroidery between each row of jewels: even her sandals are set with precious stones. She does not wear a cap like the Moorish ladies, or any thing on her head but a band of jewels; and her hair, plaited in numberless small tresses, is confined by strings of large pearls. She dyes her fingers as the ladies do here, perfectly black under the rings she wears, and likewise dyes her feet to show off the jewels of her sandals.

The daughter of Shaik Saffanassa, at present Empress of Morocco, whom Muley Yesied stole from this country, has, since his death, petitioned the new Emperor, Muley Ishem, to send her back to her father. Nothing can abate the desire this young Arabian princess has to find herself again in her native deserts. Disgusted with the atrocities and injustice she has seen, she eagerly seeks the residence of the African chief her father, which, among steep and craggy mountains, offers her more charms than she can find in her palaces at Fez or Morocco.

To return to Hadgi Abderrahman's family. The immense sums the ambassador has spent on this embassy has rendered them severe sufferers. The Bashaw and Lilla Halluma shew every mark of attachment and protec on to Lilla Amnani, and both these sovereigns mourn sincerely for the loss of her husband.

March 10, 1793.

We have been earlier and oftener harassed with land winds than is usual. It has blown a perfect storm from the deserts* for the last four days. The ground and air contained a degree of heat insupportable: travellers have perished lately who were even supplied with water: the great heat killed them. We fear this wind will last seven days, as it generally does when it exceeds three. Its serious and fatal effect, when

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* The same violent heat may be the reason likewise why the carcases of camels and other creatures, which lie exposed in these deserts, are quickly drained of that moisture which would otherwise dispose them to putrefaction: and, being hereby put into a state of preservation, not much inferior to what is communicated by spices and bandages, they will continue a number of years without mouldering away.
Shaw's Travels, p. 399. Oxford, 1738.

lengthened to seven and nine days, I have described to you, but it oftener subsides in a few hours. Many jars of water have been thrown by the blacks over the floors of our apartments, which are of stone, and each room is left for a time empty, with the doors and windows close shut. In a short time, by this method, they acquire a most salutary coolness, which relieves the respiration. But in this case, as the sand finds its way through the smallest crevice in the apartments, and no particle of it enters without its proportion of heat, every opening, though ever so trifling, must be attended to, that none may enter, as it would frustrate all attempts to cool the apartment; the door being opened only once or twice even this temporary comfort is over. The apartments, though it is now midnight, are as intensely hot as ever; nor can these winds be described so as to communicate any just idea of them, which can only be done by feeling their force and effect. The deserts near Tripoli resemble the finest and whitest silver sand, but that brought by a land wind is quite different: it is equally fine but of the deepest red, and only to be met with in Tripoli at these times, when it lies in such quantities on the floor of the galleries and ridges of the windows, as to be swept up and carried away in

baskets several times in the day. There is no eating nor sleeping in this weather: a fan of palm leaves, and a glass of lemonade, are all the sufferers seem alive to. The Moors add to these reliefs the enjoyment of a cold bath, but that often proves a dangerous expedient.

By relating to you how we passed a day last week, in an excursion into the country, you will be able to form a general idea of the many days we have spent in this manner since we have been here. It has been usual for a general party of Christians to dine out of town, in different parts of the country, about once a week, for many years past, till some time after the present troubles began, which rendered it impossible for them to go unaccompanied by Moors of consequence, and with more guards than were always convenient. This recreation was therefore quite given up for the present. It is the custom here, whenever Sidy Useph retires with his people from before the town, if it be but a few days, to throw open the gates, and every apprehension appears to be removed: in consequence of these ideas, the Bashaw's first minister, Mustapha Scrivan, invited a large party of the Christians to dine at his gardens, about three miles out of town. As it

was known he had taken trouble to prepare every thing in the best manner he possibly could for our reception, and that no excuse could be made through fear or doubt of safety under his protection, his offer could not be refused; besides which, after having been shut up for many weeks in the town, the temptation was irresistible to enjoy the aromatic perfumes and luxuriant shades of the orange groves at this season, when the air, if free from land winds, is most salubrious.

We were accompanied in our excursion by some Dutch and Venetian officers who happened to be here. Horses were sent from the castle for these gentlemen, an indulgence the Bashaw often shews the Christians on such occasions; but some of the gentlemen paid severely by fright, from their distrust of the Moorish bridles, the mouth of the Arabian horse being much too delicate to bear the European ones substituted for them.

When we arrived at Mustapha Scrivan's garden, we were all escorted to his golphor, which is built in the middle of his garden at a distance from the dwelling house. A pleasing light penetrated into this apartment through the thick

foliage of the orange trees, as well as the jasmines,* honeysuckles, and roses, that covered entirely the lattice windows which surround this golphor on all sides.

The hours before dinner were passed by the gentlemen in playing at chess with the Moors of rank, the Bashaw's first minister, the Cataib, and the Dugganeer. The ladies went into the dwelling-house to pay a visit to the minister's young bride: her age, with that of the Spanish consul's bride, who was in our party, did not amount to twenty-four years; the former being eleven, and the latter not thirteen. It was singular to hear these two children (as one must

* I am further to add, with relation to these gardens, that there is nothing laid out with method, beauty, or design; the whole being only a medley and confusion of trees, with beds of cabbages, turnips, beans, garvanços, &c. nay sometimes of wheat and barley dispersed among them. Fine walks, pastures, and flower-pots, would be to these people the loss of so much profitable soil; as planting in order and regularity, the study of soil and composts, or the aiming at any new improvements and discoveries, would be so many deviations from the practice of their ancestors, whose footsteps they follow with the utmost reverence and devotion.

Shaw's Travels, p. 228. Oxford, 1738.

term them) talking of their babies, both of which were very fine infants, about six months old.

Dancing women, and refreshments of all sorts, were immediately produced on our arrival at the bride's apartments, who, with her mother and sisters, were superbly dressed: her jewels, gold, and silver, displayed the opulence of the minister.

While we were entertained in Mustapha Scrivan's harem, he ordered men and women dancers into the garden, to gratify the curiosity of the officers and those gentlemen who had not seen the extraordinary feats performed in these dances, and other violent exertions peculiar to this country.

We remained with the Moorish ladies till a mameluke from the minister came to the dwelling-house, and informed us that the gentlemen had waited dinner for us some time. We left them with regret, the bride's mother being extremely agreeable, and the scene altogether novel. The brides had exchanged presents: a quantity of Genoa velvet, with gold and silver lace and coral buttons, for a jelick, were pre-

sented by the Spaniard's bride to the minister's, and she received a valuable ring from her young Moorish friend in return.

Sherbets and coffee, together with walking in the gardens, filled up the time from dinner to sunset, when we mounted our horses and returned to town, and were obliged to pass through a very large caravan, encamped in the Pianura, which had arrived since the morning. Numbers in the caravan, unused to the sight of Christians, expressed their surprise at our appearance, which engaged so much of their attention as to render it difficult for the Moors to clear the way for us to pass by them and their merchandize. Our curiosity was no less excited. In some places, groups of Moors were seated on the ground playing at chess, having marked a chessboard in the sand, and substituted pebbles for the pieces of the game; others sat around a straw fire by the side of a tent, which the Moors were hastily erecting. Circles of women were cooking. These latter groups, by the confusion we occasioned, were quickly dispersed, putting down, or throwing away, whatever they had in their hands. Some of them, on seeing us, ran away through fright, and others advanced with exul-

tation to meet us. They invited us into their tents, and would have given us the best they had, if we would have partaken of their fare.

As the Moors and Arabs of the lower class are, in their manner of living, but a few degrees above animals, and are content without any of the conveniences of life, they would be by far the dirtiest creatures which are found in their tents, had not Mahomet wisely ordered them to wash as often as three times a day, and to have made this indispensably necessary to their salvation. Of these ablutions the one called abdest,* which is preparatory to their prayer, is considered the most sacred; therefore, they are expected to attend rigidly to the rules laid down for it in the Koran, which directs them at this ablution to begin by washing their head and arms, next their neck, face, and feet.† Hundreds we saw who, not being near enough to where there was water, to be in time to perform this ablution before the sun was set, prostrated themselves on

* *Abdest*, this word signifies properly, in Persian, water for washing the hands; but it is used by the Persians, and also by the Turks, for the purification according to the law.

D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orientale.

† Sale's Koran, chap. 5. p. 83.

the earth, and made a semblance of washing, which they afterwards performed in reality the moment they could get it. On their crowding round us, we were glad to find ourselves so near the gates of the city, on entering which, we were free from their importunities.

It is more than ten days since the people of the town have had free access to the Messeah, during which period they have gone out daily for provisions; but they have by no means laid in the stock they were expected to do, to provide against the time that must shortly arrive, when all supplies will beagain cut off, by the approach of Sidy Useph's people.

April 28, 1793.

We have had the place in great confusion for some days past, by circumstances distinct from the usual cause of alarm, and were near having a tragical Parisian scene acted here by the *sans-culottes*. Some months since, a very serious affray happened between some Spanish and French crews here. Several men on both sides were nearly cut to pieces, and the French, the greatest part of whom were *sans-culottes*, went

away dissatisfied with their consul, who is a loyalist.

This week, to the great surprise of every one and to the French Consul, a French frigate appeared with a new consul on board, sent by the French Republic. It is not easy to conceive the consternation and terror of the French family; the consul, vice-consul, and chancellor were considered to be in the most imminent danger. The officers of the French frigate, the captain of which had been a hairdresser some years back, hurried on shore, and the new consul with them. After the consul had been received at the castle, the French assembled in the court-yard of the consular house. Here they made an enquiry into the former consul's conduct. The sailors were outrageous; they planted the tree of liberty in the yard, and held a sham trial of the French family, whom it was expected would be sacrificed by these abandoned people. The new republican consul, fortunately, behaved well on this occasion. A long speech was composed, partly by the French, and partly by the rest of the consuls here, and was delivered with such success to the mob at the French house, as to arrest and turn their intentions; and after a short time, a loud cry

of "*vive la Nation! vive la République! et vivent "les Citoyens!*" meaning the former consul, vice-consul, and chancellor, announced them all to be out of danger. But a continued scene of rioting ensued till these people left the shore, to the great satisfaction of every one. They were detained by the Bashaw twenty-four hours after a Spanish cruizer had sailed, to give the latter time to clear the coast, according to the treaties of the powers at peace with the Bashaw, that none of their ships shall be molested from this port, within a certain time after their quitting the harbour.

May 10, 1793.

This morning, at four o'clock, the unwelcome news was brought us that Sidy Useph had arrived within four miles of the town, with a much more considerable force than he has yet appeared with, consisting chiefly of Arabs, with the addition of the Moors of Sahal and the Seide, two considerable districts belonging to the Bashaw. The guards stationed at the town gates closed them as soon as it was known. Remonstrances were made to the Bey to open the gates again, as many people belonging to the town were shut out, and the Bashaw ordered

them to be opened immediately. The Bey was heard to say, that as his father was in Sidy Useph's interest, the gates might be left open constantly, that his brother might walk in quietly, without the trouble of cutting his way to the castle through a handful of troops kept for the mere ceremony of opposing him. A Moor, named Bunny, went up to the Bey for directions, saying, he was ordered out by the Bashaw with a party of horse to scour round the walls of the town, till the Arabs arrived in sufficient numbers to oppose Sidy Useph, and he should then go out with them. No sooner had Bunny quitted the castle, than the Bey suspecting his intentions, sent a hamper, one of his guards, after him, desiring him to return for further orders. The hamper found this officer at the gates of the town, surrounded by a few of his attendants; and, while he was yet speaking, Bunny shot him, and rode off full speed to Sidy Useph, with the few people he had with him.

During the first hours of this alarm, the Bashaw would not allow of any additional guards being called to the castle, nor did the Chiah give orders to barricade the streets, which has been always done on these occasions. At length the Bey seemed to have the full com-

mand of the town allowed him by his father. Before daybreak the next morning the Bey sent his brother-in-law, the Rais of the Marine, to the coast, with vessels and orders to fire upon the Pianura. By some mistake the guns fired from the Rais's vessels were directed against a party of the Bashaw's soldiers instead of Sidy Useph's, which threw them all into dreadful confusion; but such a circumstance is less to be wondered at here than in Europe. Arabian troops are so similar in appearance, that sometimes it is only a particular flag, or a small difference in their arms and manner of wearing them, that distinguish the enemy, and they are recognized among the Moors by a striking difference in the complexions and persons of one tribe of Arabs from another. We saw the whole of this engagement from our terrace, where curiosity leads us to pass a few hours every day during these extraordinary times. The Moors retain in their combats much of the manners of the ancients.

Cyde Mahomet, the Bey's wife's brother, was nearly taken under the walls of the town about noon to-day, while Lilla Howviva, his sister, was looking at him from one of the towers of the castle: his people lost seven of their horses,

and his own horse was shot dead under him. From his sudden fall at this instant, Lilla Howviva imagined he was killed, and the attendants ran to her assistance and saved her, while fainting, from falling off the ramparts of the castle. They were severely reprimanded by the Bey for having accompanied her to so dangerous and exposed a spot. One of Cyde Mahomet's guards came to us this morning from his master: this man's horse was wounded, yet they are so much in want of horses at the castle, that the hamper was ordered out in the afternoon with the same unfortunate beast.

The English consul, who was with the Bey in the morning, saw a prisoner richly dressed, dragged into town from the Pianura by the hair. The Moors assigned as an excuse for this act of cruelty, that the man had deserted from the Bashaw's troops with a large party under him but a few days before. Orders were given, if he survived the present punishment, that he should be hanged to-morrow as a traitor in front of the Pianura.

The Arabs who were coming to the Bashaw's assistance are not yet arrived, and Sidy Useph's people increase so much, that all the force they

could collect in the town appeared inadequate to succeed in repelling him. The Bey ordered the town gates to be shut closely at four o'clock in the afternoon, and all the force that could be collected employed to defend them till more Arabs arrived. The tribes of the Knowiales are expected to-night. These people come from the westward, between this place and Tunis.

Sidy Useph's people finding the Bey did not give them battle, turned about to plunder all the huts and gardens near the Pianura. On this occasion, the extraordinary groups that flocked to the town were equally distressing and singular. Some were composed of large families, men, women, and children, entirely despoiled of all they had. They came wringing their hands and tearing their hair, but were forbid to scream when they entered the town, on pain of being shut out of it, that the enemy might not exult in the advantages he had gained. Behind a Gibeleen family from the mountains were two females, carefully concealed in baracans, with a few women round them. These excited much curiosity, as there being so totally concealed denoted them to be much above the groups they were accompanying; they proved to be women belonging to a rich Tripolitan mer-

chant, who not expecting Sidy Useph, had remained out at his garden, and these ladies at the risk of their lives had escaped in the night with the Moors they were now accompanying. To give you a further picture of this distressed party, a family, which had escaped being plundered, passed under our windows: of this group a man came on driving two camels heavily laden with corn, barley, oil, eggs, and vegetables of all sorts, and many other articles of clothes and lumber. His wife, a pretty Bedouin, followed him, driving three cows: behind her were four small children; the eldest of them a little girl not seven years old, was leading four lambs by one string: and two others had bundles on their heads, as large as their little limbs could support. Three Bedouin men, armed with guns and knives, leading two large dogs with chains, brought up the rear.

Such parties, some smaller and some larger, continued to pass through the town, the whole of the afternoon. Their increasing numbers were seen with great distress by the people here, as there are no provisions whatever in this place, and the little these people have saved from the ravages of Sidy Useph, is insufficient to form any proportion to their numbers.

Every one is so extremely apprehensive of Sidy Useph's entering the town to-night, that the Rais of the Marine, who is afraid of being sacrificed by him if he succeed, keeps himself in readiness to depart at a moment, and has a vessel laying close to his golphor at the marine, to take him to Tunis or Malta, with every article on board prepared for his instant departure.

The list of persons said to be devoted to death on Sidy Useph's entering the town, are his brother, the Bey; the Chiah, his sister's husband; the Selectar; Cyde Mahomet (another brother-in-law); the Cataib and the Rais of the Marine (his third brother-in-law).

This place is so dreadfully in want of corn that some of the consuls have agreed to freight a vessel for Tunis to return with some. Another vessel sails for Leghorn to-day, by which I shall send you this.

June 30, 1793.

From the time I closed my last letter, the state of this place is grown worse and worse. Sidy Useph was expected to make his way into

town every hour; during which period the consuls were continually preparing to send their families to Malta, without being able themselves to accompany them, as they could not quit their posts. You may conceive the horrors of such a situation: nothing worthy of the name of a ship was in the harbour; we could only look forward to what was little better than a boat wretchedly equipped, and worse manned, for our voyage.

Notwithstanding all the Bashaw's messages, teskerers and firmans, sent with threatenings and rewards, no Arabs came to his assistance for several days. Boats were sent by the Bashaw to bring the Moors from Bengazi, but Sidy Useph had the address to send his people in time to Tajura to drive the boats off with their guns. On the 27th, Sidy Useph, finding the Bashaw still unable to send a force from the town against him, attempted to pass his people over the Jews' burying-ground (which is adjoining the town) to a weak part of the walls; and it cost all the exertions possible to prevent their succeeding, as the walls, beside being in a bad state, were without cannon: but this part was immediately guarded and rendered secure. On that day all the force that could be collected in the town made a sortie against Sidy Useph. They at first

drove him back, but were afterwards nearly cut to pieces before they could make good their retreat into the town, which was impeded by the town gates being by mistake closed against them at the moment they were returning.

The Bey was so constantly importuned by his people for resources, that it was quite painful to the feelings of the consuls, who were with him at the castle, whence, in much distress, he was viewing the battle. Being pressed for powder and ball by the Moors, he told them in a rage to gather up the stones and fight with them if they could find nothing else. Sidy Useph approached so close to the town at this moment, that the Christians left the castle, and the Bey retired from the ramparts. One of the Bey's own people had fired at him: the man was taken and brought into town. They said he was intoxicated; and immediately the chaouxes proclaimed an order through the town, that five hundred bastinados should be given to every Jew who attempted to sell a drop of brandy.*

* The sale of spirits is limited to Jews and Christians, it being contrary to the tenets of Mahomet for the Moors to vend them.

Owing to the insupportable heat of a strong land wind, the Bey, fearful of losing his men and horses, ordered them in during the middle of the day. On this occasion, Sidy Useph's people hooted and sung the song of victory round the town walls, and made their bravadoing feasts, which consisted in roasting dogs and eating them.

The enemy were anxious to drag away the body of a man who had been killed by a gun from the castle. Their eagerness determined the Bey to send out a party of fifty men to recover the body, which they supposed to be one of Sidy Useph's generals; but Sidy Useph's people succeeded in carrying it off. During this interval of the battle, some curious circumstances happened, which mark the Moorish manner of thinking and acting in war. A party of Arabs carried a fine mare with its murdered master to Sidy Useph, who asked them why they had killed a man not fighting against them, as he had ordered that none but those armed against him should be molested? On their replying they had killed him for the sake of his mare, as the soldiers were so much in want of horses, Sidy Useph ordered the animal to be

brought forward, had it shot in their presence, and desired them for the future to observe his orders better. Another extraordinary event was, that a Tripolitan, one of the Bashaw's people, having, on going out of the town, met with an old friend who was fighting on Sidy Useph's side, the latter began to reason with him and endeavoured to persuade him to join Sidy Useph; but the Tripolitan told him to profit of that moment in which they were speaking amicably to save himself, for he considered it now his duty to take his life if possible whenever he should meet him afterwards; on which the Arab instantly departed. The third circumstance, not less singular than the two former, was, that the Bey, after he had given orders for his soldiers to go out against his brother, perceiving Sidy Useph's people busy in carrying away their dead, prevented their going, saying he would not have the enemy disturbed till their present work was over.

The Arabs being short of ammunition, we saw them sifting the sands on the Pianura for balls, which had been previously used, and they are offering great prices at present for flints for their guns.

Parties of Arabs, who came to assist the Bashaw, have behaved so unruly and have taken such liberties, that the Bashaw has ordered the streets to be paraded by armed Moors to keep them in order.

On the 28th, after hazarding a great deal by not being able to make any resistance to Sidy Useph's attacks, the Bashaw and the Bey had the mortification to see Shaik Alieff come into town with one hundred men, instead of a thousand, which he had promised to bring, and to hear him say, that none of his people should fire on Sidy Useph, for that he knew his intention was only to retire to Bengazi, of which place the Bashaw ought to make him Bey and leave him in peace. Soon after Shaik Alieff arrived, the chief of the Knowiales came in with all the Arabs he could muster, and Shaik Alieff, won over by his persuasions and the Bashaw's promises, at last sent for his Arabs who had halted not far from Tripoli, and agreed to join the chief of the Knowiales against Sidy Useph. No sooner was this done than disputes arose between the chief Arabs of the Knowiales, and those of Shaik Alieff. These tribes had been sworn enemies for many years, and therefore declared they would not go out to fight together,

but that they would go out alternately. They were at last persuaded to go to the mosques and swear by the prophet that they would not turn upon each other in the battle. This done, they all went off together; but a whole day was lost in adjusting these matters.

At this time a reward was publicly offered to the Arabs, by the Bashaw's orders, before they quitted the town, of two thousand sequins to any one of them who brought in Sidy Useph's head. We saw to-day Sidy Useph's men gathering up the sand on the plain and throwing it by handfuls towards the town. The meaning of this action was to show their contempt of the Bey's people, and to excite them to come out. When the guns fired from the castle to-day the Arabs ran off; but as soon as the balls fell, some of them returned and fired their pieces at the balls as they lay on the ground, hallowing and hooting at the town for having missed their aim; and last night, when the Bashaw's horses were taken out to water at the wells, an Arab, in the Bashaw's pay, mounted one of the very best of them and rode off at full speed to Sidy Useph. The Bey was at the same time so distressed for horses that he sent to one of the consuls for one to replace that taken off by the Arab.

To-day the town gates have not been opened, the chief of the Knowiales not being sufficiently recovered from a severe wound he received yesterday, and the Bashaw would not trust Shaik Alieff to head the Arabs alone, for fear of his deserting with them to Sidy Useph; while, on the other hand, Sidy Useph's people are exulting round the walls and braving the people to fight.

A courier sets off for Tunis immediately, sent by the Bashaw on account of the great distress of this place. He takes a few letters with him from the Christians, among which this will go, but I have little hopes of sending you better news by the next.

July 10, 1793.

This week the Bashaw has been expecting Soliman Aga, the son of Ramadan Aga, a name renowned in Tripoli for his attachment, and the services he has rendered, to the reigning family. He has shewn his friendship very strongly to all the princes separately, when they have been out with their troops to collect the revenues; therefore when the Bashaw sent for him now to assist him against Sidy Useph, Soliman they say wept.

He gave no answer to the Bashaw's repeated messages for several days; at last the Bashaw's chief officers, with himself and the Bey, wrote him a long supplicating letter, "to take the "cause to heart, and come with all the forces he "could muster." After reading this letter, Soliman ordered his people to prepare for his departure to Tripoli, and when his favourite horse was brought for him to mount, he clasped it round the neck, and after a silence of some minutes, he himself fastened under the gold necklaces round the neck of the horse, a token of mourning, which consisted of black cloth covered with wet ashes, to shew his sorrow at engaging in this cause. He then made a solemn agreement with Shaik Saffanassa to protect the countries to the eastward during his absence, and set off for Tripoli. He was expected here yesterday from one hour to another, having slept on this side Tajura the night before; but to-day a boat arrived from the east, which was dispatched in the middle of the night by Soliman Aga from the coast, to say, that the numerous tribes of the Tahownees had intercepted him at a river near Tahowna, and now, as he cannot advance till Saffanassa joins him, he is not expected for some days. This news has thrown the town into the utmost confusion, as the as-

sistance of Soliman Aga seemed a last hope. In this extremity, additional forces from the westward have been sent for by the Bashaw, and they are advancing quickly, to the great terror, not only of the Christians, but the Tripolitans, as the western Arabs are all banditti. The Arabs from the eastward are much quieter, though worse soldiers.

A fortunate circumstance happened for the Bashaw last night. His brother-in-law, the Bey of Bengazi, arrived here, and has brought with him not only considerable sums of money, but a great supply of wheat and barley, and at present feeds all the people under arms, Arabs and Moors, who are maintained at the castle. They have only a hundred measures of barley a day for the horses. Wheat in this place is so scarce, that it sells at two thousand four hundred piastres the measure instead of eight hundred which is its usual price. We are reduced to eat black bread at more than ten times its value, and obliged to buy up all the hard biscuit that can be got at any price from the ships in the harbour. We lost a man yesterday, and another was wounded to-day, who ventured out of the town to purchase greens, eggs, and poultry, for us, luxuries which

we have not been indulged with for some time. To-day six men were seized at the gate by the enemy: they were loaded with fire-wood for the town, for which we are terribly distressed. Sidy Useph's people bound them, set fire to the wood, nd were going to burn the men alive, when one of Sidy Useph's generals, named Sidy el Mair, rode up full speed to save them, telling the Arabs to remember that Sidy Useph held the life of every person sacred, and that he would put to death any man who killed another, except in battle.

The Bashaw has been solicited, by sixty wounded Arabs, for leave to join their families, not being able (from the state they are in) to keep the field any longer. They were put into a boat to-day with provisions, and sent off to the eastward.

Six Marabuts came into town yesterday with great ceremony, to claim the protection of the Seid, a Marabut district which the Bashaw has always protected; but the Chiah told them, the Bashaw would no longer protect them, as they had all been traitors to him, and the Chiah ordered them to quit the town immediately.

July 14, 1798

To-day, though it is the Moor's sabbath, prayers have been dispensed with at the church for the first time, on account of the people being employed in guarding the town. The western Arabs are arrived, and are to go out commanded by the Bashaw's officers to-morrow, against Sidy Useph. These Arabs have been here but a few days, and are already intolerable. They have so little regard to subordination that they can scarcely be kept from incommoding the Bashaw's person, when they are permitted to approach him at his levee; and yesterday an Arab threw down one of the Bey's guards who opposed his approach to the prince. The Bey gave orders, notwithstanding the Arab's impetuosity, for him to be brought forward, and after hearing his complaint, afforded him redress. Every body seems afraid of offending these Arabs at present. A number of them crowded round the Rais of the marine to-day, and one of them offered to take a pistol out of his sash, which he was quick enough to prevent, and asked the Arab if he meant to steal his pistols, when another Arab replied, "no, he only wanted to look at them." But had the man ran off with the pistol the Rais must have let him go, as the govern-

ment is too much in awe of these thieves, to offer to punish one of them. This must prove to you what a state we are in; and if more of these Arabs come from the westward what we shall have to dread.

Thay say here that Sidy Useph is quite short of ammunition, as several men who were shot yesterday near the gate were proved to be killed with bits of iron and not ball. Sidy Useph presented his general, Sidy el Mair, this morning, with a rich saddle, the back of which was gold embossed, the stirrups burnished gold, gold trappings, &c., a pair of pistols set with jewels, and a gold handled yatagon set with diamonds and emeralds.

The beautiful Zenobia, the wife of Sidy el Bunny and favourite of the late Bey, of whose gay conduct I have written to you, is at her husband's garden out of town. Sidy el Bunny is one of Sidy Useph's generals, consequently he is fighting against the Bashaw. Zenobia has been continually sending secret intelligence to the castle concerning him; and she gave notice to Cyde Mahomet this morning, to send thirty men to a garden where her husband is, to assassinate him. What a part for a wife to act! but

with such extreme immorality as her character presents, such crimes are compatible. Sidy Useph has told Bunny that he shall be made captain of the port if he enter the town.

The Jews, some days since, offered some Moors a considerable sum of money, to escort them to their burying-ground to inter a body; but, notwithstanding the sum they offered, the Moors would not venture to accompany them. The Jews then attempted to carry the body themselves to the grave round by the sea-side, hoping to avoid Sidy Useph's people by this precaution; but the poor Jews were met by a party of Arabs, and were so frightened that they left the corpse and ran away, and it remains there yet unburied.

The Bey lost a favourite attendant this morning in the following manner. We saw from our terrace this officer follow a party of fourteen Arabs, whom he thought had deserted from the Bashaw, and under that impression went to encourage them to return to their duty, when, on a sudden, we perceived the Arabs surround him, and carry him off by violence. They proved afterwards to be Sidy Useph's Arabs.

June 20, 1793.

Late this evening a party of Sidy Useph's people called loudly under the walls to three of the Shaiks of the Messeah, by their names, who had lately fled from the Messeah, telling them from Sidy Useph, that if they returned to their several gardens, and brought back with them the people of the Messeah, whom they had enticed to follow them, they should all be safe, and well received; but if they did not return, that Sidy Useph had fresh forces from Terhona and Gerrianna, that he should be in the town with the Arabs directly, and would certainly put them all to death. To these menaces the Bey condescended to answer them from the castle ramparts, telling them they should be brought into town the next day, and made to suffer for their insolence.

The smoke of several fires round the walls of the town, loud songs, and the beating of the turbuka (a sort of drum), announced the enemy to be celebrating their barbarous feast of roasted dogs, which is considered among the Arabs as one of the greatest proofs of bravado an enemy can give. The riotous noise of these feasts

began several hours since, and still continues. The Moors this evening led the castle horses, and those of the Arabs, to water at a well without the gates of the town: not one of the animals would touch the water. The Moors examined the well, when they found that Sidy Useph's people had contrived to throw into it a dead horse, to spoil the water. The Jews (whom the Moors force to perform all hard or unpleasant offices) were immediately seized upon and set to work to drag the horse out of the well.

July 24, 1793.

Sidy Useph still keeps his ground without retiring a step; parties of his people constantly come close to the walls of the town, but the main body of his troops remains on the other side of the Pianura. To-day, when one of Sidy Useph's chief officers was killed by the Bashaw's soldiers, Sidy Useph's Arabs fought over the body on horseback, against twenty of the Bashaw's people on foot, till the former obtained the body, and carried it off in triumph; saying, that not a head of any one of their people should be brought into the town to-day. One of the bravest Arabs they have had here be-

longing to the Bashaw, named Alli Benamoor (a Tunisian), was brought into town to-day by his friends laid on a baracan, mortally wounded, his wife and family accompanied him. They were making loud lamentations over him, but the Bashaw's officers came up to them and prevented their outcries, as orders have been daily issued from the castle, that no one must scream for those killed in battle, in order not to augment the exultations of the enemy for the slain. The Moors belonging to Sidy Useph, for want of other methods, pile the horses that are killed one upon another, and fire from behind them. They likewise bring out all the chests they can get from the Moorish cottages, fill them with sand, and make them serve for a defence.

Yesterday we were disturbed by the cries of a Moorish family who were accompanying the body of a fine youth about sixteen years of age, apparently dead. They had just brought him from the sea-side where he had been bathing, when, by some accident, he could not extricate himself from the waves. His friends considered him a corpse, and his mother followed him tearing her clothes. The English consul, reflecting on the customs of the country, which would cause this youth to be rapidly interred, took with him two

Drágomen, and went to the house of the young man's disconsolate family, who were already taking measures to bury him, and in a very few hours he would have been laid in the earth, notwithstanding there was every reason to suppose he would recover by the proper methods being taken to save him. The superstition and ignorance of the Moors did not fail to induce them to raise frequent obstacles while endeavours were used to restore the youth, and they pronounced these measures useless, notwithstanding the terror and surprise they evinced at the momentary signs of life produced by them from time to time; but the family imbibing hopes that the consul's exertions might recal life, used every method in their power to repel the Moors who crowded into the house, many of whom were indignant at the unnecessary experiments (as they termed them) practiced by a Christian on their countryman. Although the consul had taken every precaution; and had ordered the servants to carry with them plenty of camphor and vinegar, to prevent the fatal effects of a too crowded apartment in a country hardly free from pestilence, yet he was obliged several times to quit it, with strong apprehensions that the fear and jealousy of the Moors would, in his absence, render what he had done of no effect,

as they would not wait the issue of the medical proceedings.

The consul almost losing his patience, and to recover himself from the effect of the confined air of the house (which had become quite oppressive from the concourse of Moors who had assembled there), returned home for a short time. The Moors, frightened at the thought of his having, perhaps, given up the project of trying to restore the youth, eagerly sent to implore his return, and solemnly promised to fulfil his orders, which were to clear the house of every person except the family. The next time the boy was left, the English broker and two guards were set to watch by him. Before the morning he was perfectly restored to life; and the effusions of gratitude, and the extreme astonishment of the Moors, at what appeared to them so very extraordinary, was not less curious than pleasing, and rendered them thankful to the consul, almost to adoration.

To-day, at the hour Sidy Useph was expected to attack the town, we were surprised to see his horsemen, in great numbers, galloping in the cultivated gardens of the Messeah. The reason for this extraordinary manœuvre was to find out

where the ground was soft, and discover hidden barley, which the inhabitants, some days before, had buried in their grounds when they fled from their houses. Sidy Useph has discovered immense quantities of grain by the above method. The reason so much barley is sown in all the gardens near the town is owing to the impossibility of extending arable land to any distance from the capital, unless it were possible to protect the produce of the earth from the ravaging hand of the Arab. From this circumstance, Christians are entirely precluded from farming.

I have before mentioned to you how successfully barley grows in this country, producing five times as much as it does in Europe; but owing to the depredations of the powerful tribes of Arabs, an European settlement here would require a standing army to gather in the grain they raised.

It is thought Sidy Useph has received supplies of cash from the court of Tunis. He is certainly at present better furnished with resources than either the Bashaw or the Bey. A very short time must finish these cruel dissentions as the town cannot hold out much longer for want of provisions.

July 28, 1793.

We receive messages every day from Lilla Halluma and the princesses. They send their confidential women to say how sincerely they wish to see us; but the insolence of the Arabs continues so very great, and the castle is so crowded with them at all times, that it is impossible to venture there.

These western Arabs are so very assuming, that the Bashaw seems as much afraid of their going out in a body and returning with Sidy Useph, as he was of Sidy Useph entering the town before the Arabs arrived.

Sidy Useph has succeeded in bringing his cannon near enough to bear upon the Bashaw's castle and the harbour, and if he had any body about him as clever as himself, he must have been in the town long ago; but his engineers are so unskilful, that they hit every object but the one they aim at. Already their balls have struck the Swedish and Venetian houses, and entered the Swedish consul's bed-chamber. Such circumstances render our situation very alarming, although our house is, as I have told you, in many parts bomb-proof.

July 29, Monday 10 at night, 1793.

This has been, my dear friend, a very extraordinary day with us, and we are for the present moment most dangerously situated. Though we are so near quitting this place, we are destined to see an entire new government, and the whole of the Bashaw's family driven from Tripoli, before our departure, by a Turkish invader: even Sidy Useph, with all his efforts against his father, must leave the throne to this usurper, who came into the bay at five this afternoon. We were taking our usual afternoon walk upon the terrace, when we perceived a fleet of Turkish vessels anchor in the harbour. As the Turks are never welcome visitors here, the dragoman was sent directly to inquire what Captain Pacha commanded the fleet that was just anchored. We were immediately informed that a Turk, named Ali Ben Zool, was on board, with a firman from the Grand Signior to depose our Bashaw, and mount the throne himself. The confusion this account has thrown every body into is not easy to describe, besides being perfectly distressing to those concerned with the government, as it puts an end to all business at the castle.

As hazardous as we considered our situation a few hours since, it is now infinitely more so, and increasing in danger from one moment to another. The commodore, with whom we are to return to Europe, with that delicacy of feeling and attention which he displayed from the first moment we saw him, and from which he has never in the least deviated, sent to us, the moment the arrival of the Turks was known, the most pressing messages by his officers, to come on board his ship. They informed us, that the frigate's boats would lay in waiting for us at the Marine, as late as possible; and that afterwards, they would be kept in readiness during the night, when on any signal being made from our terrace, they should be at the mole again before we could get there ourselves. It was then agreed that a light should be hoisted at our flag-staff, as a sign for the boats to come off for us if necessary. The officers, who came to spend the evening with us, did not remain half an hour, as our dragoman came to say that orders had been given to shut the Marine gates two hours earlier than usual.

The Marine was already crowded by the Turks, who were walking about without any opposition from the Moors.

Ali Ben Zool was still on board, and messengers were passing continually from the castle to and from him. At seven in the evening, it was thought quite necessary for us to take advantage of the commodore's offer, and go on board the frigate. The Venetian consul's lady came to join us, and the dragomen were sent once more to reconnoitre the way before we set out. They returned, and to our great disappointment were in the utmost despair. They declared that the Turks were not from Constantinople, but that they were a banditti, and came only to sack the place; that the Marine gates were strongly guarded by the Turkish soldiers, and not a Moor was to be seen near the spot. It was with great difficulty they themselves escaped being detained by them, as the Turks would not let them go till they were convinced they were guards belonging to a consular-house, but no person was suffered to go in or out of the gates; the Turks stood with their sabres drawn. They had nearly killed a Jew, who was under the French protection, for endeavouring to pass the gate in his way to the Marine. He lay on the ground almost lifeless! This news was rendered infinitely more dreadful to us, as a confidential officer from the castle had just informed us, that the Bashaw had determined to open the

gates of the town to the Arabs and Sidy Useph, that they might join with him in driving off the Turks, which the Bashaw considered the only remaining step to save himself; and every body agreed that if the Arabs were let in, not a house in town that could furnish them with the smallest booty for their labour would escape their ravages. Indeed, they have all been long promised by Sidy Useph leave to plunder the town for three days whenever they enter it; from which violence not Sidy Useph himself now could restrain them.

The dragomen have been sent every half hour, for some hours past, to the town gates, to the Marine gates, to the Shaik's golphor, or apartments, and to the castle, but nothing is more impossible than to know what is going on. They report that the Bashaw and the Bey have sent for Sidy Useph to lead his forces into town. We can only ascertain that the Turks are in the castle, as we have seen them on the ramparts.

July 30, Tuesday morning, 2 o'clock, 1793.

Worn out with anxiety and fears, the greater number of the ladies of our party are retired to rest for a few hours. The consuls have

determined to keep watch themselves through the night, relieving each other every two hours. Not a servant in the house, whether Christian, Moor, or black, but is completely loaded with knives, guns, and pistols; and little else is heard at this moment but the din of arms. The dead silence of the night at intervals is surprizing, while so much is going forward. Nothing is seen or heard in the town, except from time to time a sudden burst of noise, from the clinking of the arms of large parties of Turks, who parade the streets.

Three hours ago the Grand Signior's firman was read at the Marine, to announce the arrival of Ali Ben Zool and the abdication of our Bashaw; and the Rais of the Marine, and several of the Bashaw's chief officers, were obliged at that time of night, near twelve o'clock, to go on board the vessel in which the Turk still remains. Guns were fired about an hour since from the Turkish fleet, as signals that some of the Bashaw's officers were strangled. As we know them all personally, and are intimate with their families, these reports are very afflicting to us.

During the darkness of the night we ventured on our terraces: early in the evening, it was

not thought right for the ladies to go there, for fear of being seen by the Turks. The town and the harbour still wear a directly opposite appearance to what they did before the Turks' arrival. All continues perfectly quiet, as a calm before a storm, except at the Marine, where we hear continual talking.

The strength and the situation of our house rendering it the safest asylum in the town, not only those who have a right to the protection of the flag have been admitted into it, but it was thought policy not to refuse the relations of the Gibeleens who were settled in the town, who came to solicit a shelter for their women and property. In return for which, nearly two hundred of them have surrounded our house, well armed, and declare they will be cut to pieces before they quit its walls. All the consuls who have ladies in their families are with us.

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12 at noon.

At the adan, or daybreak, this morning, a party of the Turks were sent from the castle to our house, to guard, as they say, the English flag, which risks no insult but from themselves. These men are now laying stretched in different

parts of the court-yard, calling about them to the servants to light their pipes, and bring them coffee and sherbet. They are loaded with costly arms, and their habits are rich, but their arrogance is intolerable.

At midnight the Bashaw, the Bey, the Bey of Bengazi (the Bashaw's brother-in-law), the Cataib, the Chiah, with the ladies of the Bey and the Chiah's family, left the castle. Lilla Halluma remained in a house in the town, not being able to proceed further. This unfortunate sovereign was so ill, as to be carried out of the castle by her attendants; but the late Bey's eldest daughter, Zenobia, is still there, with two of the princesses; Lilla Fatima, widow of the Bey of Derner, and Lilla Howisha, the Rais of the Marine's wife. As the persons of female royal prisoners are held sacred in this country, it is to be hoped their lives may be spared.

There cannot be a stronger proof given of the degree of consequence attached to the Grand Signior's firman, than the manner in which the Tripolitans have bowed their heads to it on the present occasion; for as the Bashaw and the Bey at last ventured out of the gates defenceless to

Sidy Useph, the Bashaw might have let Sidy Useph in, as he at one time intended to do, with his forces, to have driven the Turks off; but under the idea that the Grand Signior's firman cannot be resisted, all has been submitted to.

By half-past six this morning, the officers of the frigate we are to go with were with us: they congratulated us on the ease with which the Turkish troops had been permitted by the Moors to enter the town, without harassing it with a battle; but every thing is to be dreaded from the ferocity of the Turk, who, known to be a great enemy to the Christians, will always endeavour to insult them, except when restrained by interest. We breakfasted in a party of thirty, most of whom had passed the night in hourly expectation of the Arabs entering the town from the land-side, or the Turks from the sea-side. Before we had finished our breakfast, we were summoned to the terrace, to see the Turk come up from the Marine in the character of Bashaw; for, by this time, every person in Tripoli doubts the authenticity of the firman.

On the Turk's landing, all the Moorish flags were immediately changed for the Turkish co-

lours; every where the crimson flag, with the gold crescent in the middle, displayed itself. As the Turks advanced, we saw them drive, with violence, the Jews from every part of the town, not suffering them to remain in sight while the Turkish Bashaw passed by, who was attended by a great number of Turks. The castle music, and the same corps of chaouxes which had for so many years announced to us the approach of the Bashaw and Bey, preceded him; all the Turkish vessels saluted him, and the batteries at the Marine fired, till he reached the castle. In his suite we had the satisfaction to see the Rais of the Marine, who, they last night said, was strangled.

The despair and confusion of the Jews cannot be conceived: they expect to be stript of their property, and happy for them if they save their lives by discovering all their treasures.

Every thing is quiet in the Messeah; and so few of Sidy Useph's people are seen, that it is thought by some of the Moors, he has determined to go to Tunis with the Bashaw and Bey. Others say, he is collecting more Arabs to make head against the Turk, whom he speaks of and considers only as a ruffian.

At present we are as much limited to our terraces for taking the air, as we were lately during the plague. We cannot get into the Messeah nor walk at the Marine, and the town (at no time agreeable to walk in) is now quite overrun with Turks; but we have not to lament this circumstance long, as we expect every day to embark for Europe.

August 11, 1793.

We yesterday witnessed a more painful and alarming moment than we have yet felt here, from a circumstance that seriously threatened the life of the consul. We perceived an English ship sail out of the harbour in the morning after a French tartan (a small vessel) which happened to be bringing in Turkish troops for Ali Ben Zool: the Turks were running the vessel on shore to save it from being taken. The castle batteries fired as a warning, it being irregular to take the vessel under the guns of the fortresses. In the mean while, a very menacing message was brought from the Turk to the consul to come directly to the castle. Had the Turk's order been complied with, he would afterwards have demanded an exorbitant ransom for the consul's release; and we are too well ac-

quainted with the manners of the Turks and the accommodations they would afford to a Christian they were displeased with, not to know that the consul's life might have fallen a sacrifice in this instance. I leave you to paint our situation to yourself with that humanity you always feel for others. It was necessary for the consul to go immediately on board till the matter of taking the vessel could be adjusted; and, as owing to this accident, he did not think his family safe at the English house, he went with us to the Venetian-house. Our own dragomen accompanied us, and as many of the Turkish guards as were sufficiently in their senses to be able to stand; for by this time most of them lay intoxicated about the skiffar (hall) and court-yard. The streets we passed through had quite a novel appearance to us: they were almost lined with Turks. The guard at the Sandanner, instead of the old Aga who used to treat us with the greatest marks of respect as we passed, was a set of fierce armed ruffians who seemed scarcely able to refrain from insulting us. We met the dugganeer going to the castle, but he could not say the least word in confidence to us, being surrounded by armed Turks instead of his own attendants. Immediately after we had

parted with him, we met one of Sidy Useph's generals, Sidy el Bunny, the husband of Lilla Zenobia, the late Bey's favourite. This officer told us he had come into town during the confusion of the morning, and trusted he should get out again before night, as he is not known to the Turks, but he could not stop to say a word more for fear of being discovered: he was disguised, and wrapt up close in a dark baracan. The consul left us at the Venetian house, and had but just time to escape on board our ships and acquaint the commodore with the issue of what had happened. Every thing was adjusted in a few hours, and our dreadful apprehensions for the consul's safety relieved. After remaining at the Venetian house some hours, the Turks being satisfied, we returned home to dinner.

The rest of the Turkish guards were still rioting in our house. The consul insisted on their leaving it, as he told them he had no further occasion for them, but their chief informed him he must be paid a pataque (five shillings) an hour for their services. This imposition being acceded to, we had the happiness to see them depart.

These wretches, while we were gone to the Venetian house, got hold of a Jew, and would have killed him for not executing some orders they had given him; but the man was saved by the interference of our servants, who remonstrated with them, and told them that no such work was permitted near the doors of the English house.

The Turkish Bashaw begins by treating the Christians with great haughtiness: he has already declared he will not see the infidels (meaning the consuls) till to-morrow. On his being applied to, to see and receive the English officers to-day, an etiquette necessary on the present change of government, the Turk, endeavouring to copy the Dey of Algiers, had the effrontery to propose that the English officers should leave their swords behind them; but on being informed by the consul that no such proposal would be agreed to, he gave up the project.

During the two last days hostilities have ceased in the Pianura and in town: not a Jew or a female is to be seen in the streets, and very few Moors. The shops are all shut, the trading Moors have retired, and nothing can appear more empty and desolate than the town ever

since the Turk landed and paraded through it to the castle.

Sidy Useph's forces have entirely withdrawn themselves from the Messeah, and what his next movements will be nobody here can imagine, but the Arabs continue coming over the deserts in great numbers, from the east and west.

A circumstance which occurred this morning after our return from the Venetian-house, induces me to give you an anecdote of a black, as a specimen of their great attachment to their employers. A black slave, named Zur, came to intreat that he might be received into the consul's service, and would not take a refusal, though he was repeatedly told the family were on the point of leaving the country. His eagerness to be employed (if it was but for a few days), and his dress, though shabby, displaying the remains of too rich a habit for a slave, led to an inquiry into his history. He proved to have been the property of a Moor of distinction, named Sidy Hassana, a confident of the late Bey's, who, like the rest of his favourites, was ruined by his attachment to his master. At Sidy Hassana's death, which happened very soon

after the Bey was murdered, his property, not excepting the jewels of his family, and all his slaves, were seized. His widow, a beautiful Circassian, was left with three small children destitute of bread! She was named by her husband Sebbeeba,* and had been brought by her lord himself from Asia, who, owing to his fears of her being seen or talked of on account of her beauty and accomplishments, had secluded her from all intercourse but with himself and her domestics. The unfortunate Sebbeeba, therefore, found herself in an instant, not only deprived of her protector, but without a friend or connexion in this country.

At the time the hampers (guards) were plundering his master's house, the black ran to Lilla Sebbeeba and implored her to give him his liberty instantly, before the hampers had seized

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* Sebbeeba, in the Moorish language, means raisins. The Moors give to the Circassians, and other Asiatic beauties, when they marry them, Moorish names of their own invention meant to be endearing and complimentary; as, "Mabooba," a coin of pure gold; "Cobah," the morning star; "Halluma," sweetness, &c. On this account Hassana gave his fair slave, at the time he married her, the name of "Sebbeeba," *a raisin.*

on him with the rest of her slaves. She opposed a request so totally against the black's own interest, as he would have been taken immediately to the castle to be fed and clothed, and considered (being so fine a black) as a domestic of royalty. She reminded him that she had nothing to give him, and that for want of better protection than she could afford him at present without a master, he would starve. But the faithful black replied, that it was for herself and his master's children he begged for his liberty, saying, if Lilla Sebbeeba gave him his freedom he could not be taken from her; and he would, by business or employment, procure provisions for her family, and endeavour, besides, by his labour, to prevent as much as possible her missing the servants she had lost.

The unhappy Circassian, totally friendless, gladly complied with his generous proposal, and when the hampers appeared to order him to the castle, she declared him free, and proved to them he had been given to her by her lord after her marriage, by which she was enabled herself to give him his freedom. The Circassian, obliged to leave Sidy Hassana's possessions in the Messeah, was, by the black, conducted with her three infants into town, where the latter has

helped to maintain them all to the utmost of his power ever since the Bey's death, without the smallest deviation from the obedience he was formerly accustomed to shew his unfortunate mistress; and he considers the mentioning of her name even a want of respect, giving her, when he speaks of her, only the distinguished epithet of his Lilla. The faithful black's request was complied with, and he is to remain with us till we go from hence; when the Dutch consul will take him into his service, and find him a lucrative employment in the purchase of Arabian horses for the Emperor of Austria, which the black is to take to Vienna in a few months.

We have heard nothing of Lilla Halluma, though it is four days since this unfortunate sovereign has left her castle, and we dare not yet endeavour to find out her residence for fear of discovering it to the Turks.

August 17, 1793.

A few days after I closed my last to you, the people of Sahal (a considerable district a few miles from town) were sent by Sidy Useph to salute, as they said, the new Bashaw; and

Sidy Useph sent many compliments, saying, he was coming to see him immediately: but these two chiefs knew each other too well. On the message being delivered from the Caid of Sahal, the Turkish Bashaw desired they would all retire for a few days, till he had considered in what manner to receive them and Sidy Useph.

A Shaik, with a large body of Turkish soldiers, parades the streets of Tripoli at night: we met them late this evening as we were returning home. They talked a great deal to our dragomen, who were unwilling to answer them, knowing it was unusual for them to take the liberty of stopping and talking in the streets while in attendance on the consul's family. The Turks were very troublesome in persisting to escort us home, though repeatedly told that our own guard was sufficient, and that their services would not be accepted On a sudden, their attention was called off by the arrival of a person whom we were sorry to see had just been seized by the Turkish guards. This was a confidential officer of the Bey, who had ventured into town in the afternoon, intending to leave it again at sunset. The Shaik and the Bashaw's satellites carried him immediately to the castle, whence I fear he will be heard of no more.

Sidy Useph is at his father's garden with the Bashaw and the Bey. The Turk sent him to-day a message with a rich caftan, desiring, orrather ordering him to come to town, saying, he expected him to join the divan which was to be held this day at the castle; but Sidy Useph would not venture himself so much in the Turk's power, and entirely declined coming.

This morning another of Sidy Useph's generals came into town in disguise. Among the very few people he has ventured to discover himself to, he did so to us. He told us, that the night the Turkish fleet anchored in the Bay of Tripoli, Sidy Useph had not the least suspicion that a new Bashaw was on board till after midnight, when the town was guarded by the Turks and completely in the hands of the usurper. When Sidy Useph saw his father and brother take refuge in the Messeah, and learnt the cause of their flight from the town, he was almost distracted at having neglected taking the town by storm, which he could easily have done had he not waited to make terms with his father.

This officer expressed himself highly pleased with the hope, that the Moors would yet enter the town and drive the Turks away. He in-

formed us, that Sidy Useph, with a stronger force than usual, and his Arabs animated by seeing the Bashaw and his sons now united in the same cause, meant to attack the town, with all the exertions he could possibly make, that very night; and that an agreement was made between Sidy Useph and the chief of the Arabs, that if the latter succeeded in getting into the town, they should be at liberty to plunder every house in it three days, for their pay, "And is this the friendship," said Mr. Tully, "we are to expect from you?" "What greater proof of friendship," replied the Moor, "can I give you, than telling you a secret, that if you chuse to put my name to, my head will be placed on the gates to-morrow, if even I get through them alive to-day; and though I tell you this, that you may prepare for the alarm, Sidy Useph, for his own sake, will, I suppose, respect the consular houses." His kindness was readily acknowledged by Mr. Tully, and every attention and assistance afforded him to forward his departure from the town; but the information this officer had given us was so alarming, that all the Christians began a second time to think of retiring to the harbour. This last resource was, on reflection, relinquished by the consuls; for as there remained no European ships of force

in the harbour, which is now filled with Turkish gallies manned with riotous and savage crews, it appeared to them a more dangerous expedient than trusting to the protection of the consular flags, which are thought safer, if Sidy Useph enter the town, than they are at present, as these Turkish invaders are considered nearly as banditti. The great danger apprehended by the Christians was from what might happen in the first moments of confusion, on the Arabs entering the town before their chiefs could have time to restrain them; and, owing to this, the rest of the day was spent in the greatest agitation and terror. We saw Sidy Useph's people advancing every hour, and by the evening they were close to the town. The Turks drove them back at different periods during the day, by firing bombs, of which many burst over the town, to the distress of the inhabitants. The Moors being much harassed by the use of this implement of war, retired for that night. The next day Sidy Useph annoyed the town so much with his cannon, that the Turks sent three strong armed boats to land at the Messeah and endeavour to spike them. After much difficulty this was effected, but it was only owing to Sidy Useph's being absent for a short time, having left his brother to take his post. When he heard what

was going forward, he returned immediately to take the command. His conduct during the time the Turks have been here, obliges every body to own that, though his heart is bad, his talents are superior to the rest of his family.

Notwithstanding the repulses Sidy Useph received from the Turks, he continued to keep his ground close to the town gate all that day.

The Christians have no means of guarding their houses at present, as they did on former occasions, when Sidy Useph approached with his Arabs. There were but few Moors in town, and these all subject to the Turks; and we had only to hope the Arabs might be restrained in time by Sidy Useph or his generals from assaulting the consuls' houses. At night every body assembled on their terraces in the greatest agitation, to observe what was passing, and be apprized of the moment when victory would prove decisive either to the Moors or the Turks. Just after midnight, Sidy Useph's people succeeded in getting so close to the town gates, that every one thought they had entered them, and all were dreadfully alarmed who knew of the permission Sidy Useph had given his Arabs to make the best of their time to enrich themselves at the expense of the inhabitants.

At half-past twelve, under a heavy fire of the Turks, Sidy Useph crowded with his Arabs close to the gates. He had formed a plan of entering through some old magazines, under which he had mined a way into town, unobserved by the Turks; but at the moment his people were preparing to enter this subterraneous passage, the Turks unexpectedly set fire to some large branches of trees dipt into boiling pitch, the immense glare from which instantly discovered every part of the Messeah, and particularly what the Moors were doing, which consequently prevented their success. The firing from the Moors formed a continued line round the town, and the Turkish ships kept up an incessant fire on the Messeah. I suppose this is the last alarm we shall experience from that quarter during our stay in Tripoli, as we expect to quit it in a few days.

An officer much attached to the Bashaw, and who was in the castle the whole of the night he was destined to quit his throne, gave us a minute account of all that passed there from six in the evening till the moment he left the castle.

Both the Bashaw and the Bey may be said to have fallen sacrifices to the fatal effect of believ-

ing in destiny. When the unexpected news arrived at the castle of a new Bashaw being already in the bay, accompanied by a strong Turkish fleet, these princes were so paralised with the thought of what they considered impending fate, that they seemed to wait without attempting to make any resistance till the storm reached them. When it was known that the Turk, who had arrived in the character of sovereign, was possessed of the Grand Signior's firman, the Bashaw and his ministers appeared motionless, and ready to bow their heads to the irrevocable decrees of the Porte. After some time, however, doubts were entertained of the validity of the firman, and of its having been obtained from the Grand Signior; orders were therefore issued from the castle for the Shaik and Rais of the Marine to collect all the force they could, and oppose the Turk's landing: but neither the Bashaw nor the Bey came out to animate the people, who feared without a chief to resist the man who in a few hours might hold their lives in his hand. An hour and a half passed after these orders were issued from the castle, without any appearance of their being put into execution. Messages were again sent to the Shaik and Rais of the Marine to arm, while neither the Bashaw nor Bey approached near a window or gallery of the

castle to see what was going on, or to shew themselves to the people. From eight in the evening, the time was passed in fruitless messages from the Bashaw to his ministers, till midnight; when the firman was sent from the Turk on board the fleet, with great ceremony, to the castle, and the Bashaw ordered to quit it, or receive his death there.

The Bashaw, the Bey, and the Bey of Bengazi went off, accompanied by a tribe of the Knowiales, headed by their chief Shaik Alieff. This officer confirmed the accounts given us, of the Bashaw having fainted three times in his way from the castle to the gates of the town. He felt severely for not having sent the females of his family, at any risk, to the Messeah, which it was now too late to do; but they comforted the Bashaw by reminding him that all royal female captives must be safe according to the tenets of their Prophet, who forbids their being in the least violated in cases of war. The subsequent conduct of the Turk and his men, however, proved the Bashaw's fears just, and themselves to be banditti, and not authorized from the Porte; for, contrary to all Mahomedan laws, they took not only from all the ladies of the castle, but even from the Bashaw's daughters,

their jewels and every valuable article they had about their persons, and of those ladies who were not detained in the castle few had more than a baracan to cover them. One of the princesses, Lilla Fatima, had the courage to resist the ruffians, and declare, that as she was a Bashaw's daughter, she would submit to death rather than leave the castle in such a state. They yielded to her remonstrances, and afforded her some more of her clothes. Lilla Halluma, who was very ill, was carried out in the arms of her blacks, to whom she had formerly given their freedom, for all the slaves in attendance were detained at the castle, male and female, for the Turk's service, or to be sold. These blacks, some living within the castle and some in the town, now gratefully flocked round their afflicted mistress to offer their services to her at this unfortunate moment. They bore her from the castle, accompanied by the widow of the late murdered Bey, and these two royal fugitives are now secreted in town, but as yet we know not where. The late Bey's beautiful daughter the Turk has detained in the castle, having declared his determination to marry her, and place her on the throne; but his intentions, instead of affording consolation to the family, can only distract them, as every body seems convinced that

this usurper, who calls himself Ali Ben Zool, and has risen under sanction of some of the pachas to a command in the Grand Signior's navy, was noted for his piracies, and has formerly been considered as the chief of a banditti of Arnauts, a people who are the refuse of the Turkish dominions.

This Turk put into the harbour of Tripoli with his ships several times lately, in his expeditions from the Porte to Egypt, which afforded him an easy opportunity of becoming acquainted with the dissentions in the Bashaw's family, and consequent disorder of the kingdom. Ali Ben Zool, perceiving the general confusion, determined to profit by the defenceless state of the country, hoping to silence the Grand Signior's ministers by the rich presents he will send hence, amassed by murder and rapine! I fear I shall have no better accounts to give you during the remainder of our stay here.

In the last eight days, atrocities have occurred, which, thank God, while residing in this country, we had as yet been strangers to.

We are waiting for the return of the commodore, with whom we shall embark for Europe;

he is gone to look in at Tunis. I close this with the intention of writing to you once more before we leave Tripoli.

August 17, 1793.

In order to give you a final account of the state we leave Tripoli in, and of the last days we spend here, I determine to keep this, and forward it by the first opportunity that may present itself, on our way from this place.

A few days ago we discovered the residence of the persecuted Lilla Halluma. Mrs. Tully lost no time in sending her fresh roasted coffee, fine loaf sugar, and such trifles as she seemed most to wish for; confidential messengers went with them, but they found all access to this unhappy sovereign impossible. They were driven precipitately from her residence, and were happy to have escaped without further mischief. They heard loud screams from her house before they reached the door, where they found the Turks dragging out a beautiful youth, a son of Hadgi Mahmute, and grandson of the Bashaw, whom they had imagined to be a son of the late Bey, and were hurrying him to the castle to secure him, supposing him to be the next heir to the

throne. The day following, when the bustle of this affair was over, the messengers were sent again, and found an easy admission to the terrified Halluma, who was sinking from the affliction of this last outrage, in seeing her favorite grandson dragged from her bedside by the Turks. The voice of the youth was drowned by the clatter of the tremendous sabres of his assassins, by which Lilla Halluma supposed he was massacred before they left the house; but they carried him alive to the castle, where he still remains. It is determined for us to make an effort to see once more this worthy relic of royalty, but the difficulty of approaching her, owing to the jealousy of the Turks, makes it necessary to put off this dangerous visit to the last; we however hear from her by her women, and send to her almost daily. Lilla Halluma has none of her daughters with her, but is consoled by the presence of the late Bey's widow, who never leaves her. Lilla Howisha, the Bashaw's third daughter, has ventured to remain at the castle with her husband, the Rais of the Marine, who, from his consequence and weight in the place, the Turk finds it the best policy to retain in his post.

August 17, 1793.

Within the last few days the scenes here have been too shocking to relate, I therefore pass them over in silence; but I cannot omit telling you of the present precarious state of two persons, for whom we are much concerned, and in whose situation we are every hour anxiously hoping to see a change. One of them is a chief officer of the late Bey, who for many years was in the habit of visiting the Christians and being of their parties. This unfortunate man was seized by the Turk's satellites the night before last and carried to the castle, where, on the Turk's imagining he did not candidly confess what treasures he was possessed of, gave immediate orders to put him down into a deep dry well in the castle-yard, where, shocking to relate, no food has yet been administered to him; but hopes are entertained, that if the inhuman Turk can be convinced of his error, he will, in consequence of the rank of this officer, have the unhappy man taken out of the well again, in time to save his life.

In the course of the same day, we had scarcely sat down to dinner, not at all recovered from the distress this account had thrown us into,

before a Jewish youth, or rather spectre, who had sent to intreat he might be permitted to speak immediately with the consul, was conducted into the room. Scarcely could he articulate owing to his agitation. His request was that he might be allowed to go with the dragomen, and search the prisons belonging to the English house, for a chain he had seen there to confine prisoners. On being asked for what purpose he could want it, he burst into tears, and said, his mother (the same called Queen Esther, the Bashaw's favourite) was expiring in the castle, chained with so tight a chain, that it was cutting through her wrists and ankles, and that she must inevitably die from anguish, if not immediately relieved; and that the inhuman Turks had agreed, if he found an easier chain, they would permit him to change it, but otherwise she must remain as she was.

It seemed a dream to hear this distressed youth request as a favour, an iron chain for Esther, who but a short time since was the person most at ease, and perhaps the happiest in Tripoli. The chain was immediately sent, and as much attention shewn to Esther as possible, that this effort to serve her might attract the notice of those about the castle, who were

able to speak in her favour. Great Esther, as they call her, had been sent for by the Turk, and ordered to produce him one hundred thousand pataques (five thousand pounds) immediately: she has been put in irons till this demand of the tyrant is complied with, in specie or in jewels, as he will receive no paper for the sum he has required. Her family have offered nearly double that sum to the Turk, if he will spare Esther's life till the money can be sent from Leghorn, as they cannot answer the whole of his demand at present in specie; but we hope the Jews will make up the number of sequins wanted, and save this unhappy woman from her present impending death.

The Bashaw, the Bey, and Sidy Useph, are going by land to Tunis, from whence they are expected to return immediately, supported by that court. As, therefore, the reign of this tyrant is not imagined to be long, he is making the best of his time in plundering the wretched inhabitants before his departure, forcing them by every method to declare their property, which he immediately seizes.

August 18, 1793.

Sidy Useph has not yet set off for Tunis. He has kept the town completely besieged ever since the Turk has been here, notwithstanding bombs are continually fired from the town. With his cannon he keeps the place so effectually blockaded, that these people, though starving, cannot get the least article of provision through the gates; and are mortified by the sight of the grapes, dates, and oranges, hanging in luxuriance in the gardens, while with the parching heat they are litterally dying for want of those salubrious articles. At the same time, their feelings are distressed in beholding the quantities of cattle and vegetables consumed by the enemy under the walls, while there is literally nothing in the town to eat; and it is only at the risk of their lives, and at five times the value of the article, that the Tripolitans are sometimes tempted to endeavour to get them for the Christians. From this account I leave you to judge of our situation.

This morning the Moors from the Messeah have been offering a great price for flints for their guns, at the gates of the town. Among

the persons who sold these flints one man was detected, and will be hanged as a traitor.

The want of flints was most seriously felt by Sidy Useph, for the common flint that is found in such abundance in most other countries, is not to be met with here.

August 18, 1793.

Ali Ben Zool is expected to call in the Western Arabs to his assistance, and if he has but treasure enough by him to satisfy these auxiliaries, who surpass as much in avarice, as they do in arms, the rest of the tribes around Tripoli, he will succeed in gaining them to his cause, notwithstanding the allegiance they owe the Bashaw, whose subjects they are. The Western Arab is a composition of the worst traits in the Arabian character, devoid of honour, honesty, or hospitality, which the Arab from the east of Tripoli possesses in a high degree. The former are infinitely less handsome in their persons than the latter.

It is, however, to be wished, for the sake not only of the Tripolitans, but also of the Christians, that Ali Ben Zool will not find money

to employ these tribes, who hate the name of a Christian. They have not lost sight of the cause which produced that hatred in their predecessors, who were provoked by the injustice and cruelty of the crusades, when the blood of their countrymen was indiscriminately shed for following the standard of Mahomet, and since which the name of a Christian is held in abhorrence in the different countries of the Levant. The uncivilized part of their communities throughout Africa and Asia have confirmed with their latest breath this hatred to their children. Seven hundred years have not obliterated from the unlettered mind of the Arab, that agriculture, commerce, and the fine arts, were buried by the Christians under the wreck of the Saracenic empires.

The Western Arabs, who, as I have already mentioned, came into town to assist the Bashaw, retired with him when he left Tripoli. Whether they have returned to their deserts, or joined Sidy Useph, is not known here; but as the last general we saw belonging to Sidy Useph informed us, he certainly had ten thousand men with him ready to oppose the Turk, the western tribes must have made up a part of that number, and will almost insure his getting into Tripoli.

On account of the many enormities we hear of, committed by the Turk, and the still impending fates of the wretched Sidy el Bunny and the Jewess Esther, we are careful not to enquire the names of the prisoners at present detained in the castle, to avoid hearing of the sufferings of those with whom we have been intimate. Lilla Fatima, the favourite sister of Sidy Useph, still continues to send him secret dispatches in spite of the Turk's vigilance, and on account of his spies the family tremble for her safety.

The life of Zenobia, the unfortunate daughter of the late Bey, is despaired of: she is still detained by the Turk at the castle, and scarcely either eats or sleeps, but confines herself to a part of the palace that overlooks the sea, not permitting any of her attendants to be with her but when she is in need of them. Her own apartments, and a part of the ramparts of the castle which commands the Messeah, where night and day she watches, are the boundaries of her walks. Not even the intreaties of any one can induce her to extend them till, as she says, the way is free to her from the castle to join her afflicted mother, who is with Lilla Halluma. The vicinity of her father's tomb in the royal turba (mausoleum), close to the castle, accord-

ing to the Moors' ideas, would have been to the affectionate Zenobia the highest consolation in her present sufferings, had it been in her power to visit it. There, she says, she would have spent the greatest part of the day, to choose and arrange the choicest nosegays to deck it in the fullest manner, and have bestowed what flowers she had to spare among the graves of her ancestors. But she is prevented leaving the castle by the Turk's orders, against which no one dares act. Already the Turk has sent off all the black and white slaves he could collect in the castle as merchandize, to be sold in Asia, by which he will amass an immense sum, as there were a number of invaluable blacks, men and women, belonging to the royal family.

The Turk has made no public procession through the town yet. He has not been to worship at any of the marabuts, or mosques, on his ascending the throne; but we see him walking in the galleries and through the castle daily. He has always a number of Turks around him.

By this time the rich Jews would all have embarked for Europe, but the Turk was too much on his guard not to provide in time against

any one of them leaving the place; at least, before he has ascertained what they are worth, and appropriated to himself as much of their property as he thinks right.

The shops are still almost all shut, and there is not yet any re-appearance of commerce. Scarcely any person is seen walking in the streets; and the gates are kept securely closed and guarded by bodies of Turks, the service of all the Moorish guards being dispensed with for the present. The guard of the town gates, the Sandanner, and the nightguards, are entirely composed of Turks, who are riotous and noisy. They have no compassion on the Jews, and ill use the Moors when they meet with any they dare annoy.

The Turkish gallies have been continually going in and out of the harbour. It is supposed they go along the coast to buy what the Moors at different places will sell them. Upon the whole, the Turk is as little expected to maintain his ground here, through embarrassed circumstances, as from the want of supplies and the concurrence of the town, the inhabitants of which seem only waiting to embrace a favourable opportunity of getting rid of him.

August 22, 1793.

We expect to embark to-morrow; we have, therefore, been to-day to see for the last time all those of the Bashaw's family who are out of the castle. We went first to his daughters, Lilla Howisha and Lilla Fatima, both of whom had left the castle. The husband of the former of these two princesses retains his post under the Turk, and is still Rais of the Marine. We found Lilla Howisha, as we expected, in the utmost affliction for the fate of the Bashaw and the Bey. She told us, when the Bashaw left the castle at midnight, supported by those officers who were sufficiently attached to him to follow him in his misfortunes, he fainted three times on his horse before he reached the gates of the town. Twice the Bey, in his distress, wished to take him back to the castle, fearing he would die before they could get him out of the town.

The family had collected a box of treasures before the Bashaw quitted the castle, which was carried with him; but this was broken open and plundered at the gate by the very Arabs who accompanied him. These people took advantage of the confusion in their leaving the town to open the chest, and entirely emptied it.

They were Western Arabs, who are noted for their treachery and deceit.

Not any of the ladies we visited can learn the least intelligence of what passes at the castle: they have only the satisfaction of knowing that no royal captive has been put to death there; consequently, those of the family who remained at the castle are yet safe. But they tremble for the fate of the young and beautiful Zenobia (the late Bey's eldest daughter); she still remains in the tyrant's powers. All her faithful slaves and women have been taken from her, and a set of attendants sent to her from the Turk, of his own chusing; she is, therefore, not able to communicate a thought to her family but through these spies, whose lives depend on the Turk's will. The royal sufferers told us these afflictions were accelerating Lilla Halluma's death! "You will find her," said Lilla Howisha, "equally deprived of health and state."

These ladies had saved the greatest part of their jewels from the Turks. In the first moments of confusion they left the castle with all their jewels on their persons, relying on the customs of the East and the laws of Mahomet, which declare the persons of all royal females sa-

cred in war. But though these princesses succeeded in passing from the castle during the entrance of the Turks, orders were instantly given that no more of the royal family should quit it except Lilla Aisher, the afflicted relic of the late murdered Bey, whom the Turks forced from the palace gates, while they detained her daughter there!

After having spent with these unfortunate princesses all the time we could, we left them with great regret, and went to see Lilla Halluma, the Bey's wife; Lilla Howviva, and the late Bey's widow, Lilla Aisher, were with her.

Here the scene can scarcely be described. The first person we saw was Lilla Aisher, who was in silent anguish, slowly pacing the apartment we were shown into, amidst the few faithful blacks that remained with her; they were prostrate on the ground, and, in a low voice, lamenting for her sorrows. Lilla Aisher's fine hair, instead of being braided with gold and jewels, as we have always seen it, hung dishevelled over her shoulders, and the tears streamed down her cheeks pale as death. She hastily came up to us, and with a sort of wild agony, pronounced the name of her daughter. "Lilla Zenobia," said she, "remains at the

castle in the tyrant's power; Sidick el Bey (my Lord the Bey) was cut to pieces who should be here now to protect his child!" The blacks, seeing their mistress's increasing grief, were preparing to scream, when Lilla Aisher stopped them, with a convulsed voice, forbidding them. "Your cries," said she, "will offend the tyrant, and he will murder my child!" She was so overcome by her feelings that her women led her to a sofa, where she seemed for some time almost lifeless. On her recovery, she accompanied us to Lilla Halluma, and reproached herself for having kept us so long from her. "I see too well," said she, "that the very winds are now gathering which are destined to blow you from the shores of Tripoli, and this is the last time we are to see you."

We had but a short distance to go to Lilla Halluma's apartment. No long corridors nor subterraneous passages, as in the harem of the castle, were here; no crowds of attendants, so numerous that we have been often obliged to wait a considerable time before way could be made for us to pass them in going to their sovereign!

Lilla Halluma received us with the greatest expressions of kindness. She appeared, as

usual, all softness, but her frame is sinking fast under the shock it has received. She spoke with that patience and resignation which presented a lesson for the best Christian, though given by a Mahomedan. The sweetness of her countenance was not altered from what we had always beheld it; but a livid paleness overspread her face that betokened the hand of death had reached her! No massy gold curtains encircled her bed; no eunuchs waited at her chamber door. What a change! But a few days since, the happiness of others depended on her smiles; and today, the meanest subject in Tripoli is more at ease, because they have not known her grandeur. Only ten of the faithful blacks surrounded her, while two white women supported her as she sat up on the bed, or couch, on which she was placed.

She thanked us many times, with a feeble voice, for coming to see her again before we left the country; and in the most pathetic manner, described to us the departure of the Bashaw from the castle. He endeavoured to comfort her by assurances that he would soon send an escort from Tunis for her, and bid her remember, that

by Mahomet's laws, persons of her rank were perfectly safe even in the midst of war.*

She saw him for the last time from the galleries of her apartments, crossing the court-yard of the harem, where his strength failed him, and she beheld him carried off by his blacks, followed by the Bey of Bengazi and Sidy Hamet. Lilla Halluma's anxiety for the Bashaw's safety now rendered her situation dreadful, till her women hurried to her from the castle ramparts (where they had been watching) to tell her that the Bashaw had cleared the gates of the town, and had gained the Pianura.

Immediately after the Bashaw's departure, Lilla Halluma left the castle, in company with her daughter-in-law, Lilla Aisher, and very few attendants, and came to the residence where they now are; but Lilla Halluma's voice failed

* It was not without great reason that the prophet made it one of his strongest tenets, to hold the persons of royal females sacred, in a country where no ready conveyances are provided to transport them instantly over burning sands and steep mountains, from the fury of the enemy: he, therefore, judiciously decreed, that they should pass unmolested in their persons, even through the enemy's camp if necessary.

her when she was about to tell us of her being forced to leave Lilla Zenobia, her beautiful grand-daughter, at the castle, in the usurper's power.

When this afflicted sovereign had finished the melancholy account of her last deplorable evening at the castle, conveyed in the language of singular oriental idioms, she added (alluding to the English consul's departure from Tripoli at this period), "Ah! the consul's sun and the Bashaw's sun have set together; their day closes, and their night begins at the same time: but may the Prophet yet wake them to a brighter adan, which I am hardly likely to behold again."

The reign of Lilla Halluma has been marked with continual clemency, and many are the severe and savage laws she has caused to be laid aside during the last years of it, through her intercession with the Bashaw. She prevented the barbarous custom taking place of throwing Moorish women into the sea inclosed in a canvass bag with stones to facilitate their sinking quickly, as a punishment for their being seduced by Christians. All the fandukes (inns for tra-

vellers)* that have been erected during the Bashaw's reign, have been suggested and built at her own expense. One of the handsomest of them remains at present in an unfinished state.

We staid with the unfortunate Lilla Halluma as late as it was possible to return home without danger, and till she reminded us that the state of Tripoli was changed, and her power no longer existed to insure our safety as it had formerly done, or protect us now from a set of Turkish ruffians. We left her with the deepest regret, fully persuaded of the truth of her own words, that her sufferings would not be long.

August 23, 1793.

We spent a parting evening at the Venetian-house last night, where all our Christian friends

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* The regulations established at the public inns are highly creditable to the government, and might be adopted with advantage in more civilized countries. An officer is stationed at the porch of the building, who enters every article that goes out or comes in, and is answerable for losses of all kinds. For this useful precaution, a trifling pecuniary consideration is exacted from every visitor.

Blaquiere's Letters, vol. ii. p. 26.

were assembled to meet us. Several of the officers of the ships we are going with remained on shore till a late hour. During the evening, the Moors were continually coming to express their regret, in the strongest terms, on the English consul's leaving their country. Many were the Moors of every rank who met us yesterday in the street, and wiped the tears from their eyes as they passed him, while they named him loudly to each other, as "*Boui el Bled,*" and "*Wield el Bled,*" (father of the country, and son of the country).

The whole of last night Sidy Useph kept up a constant firing upon the town, and every one is quite convinced, that if he is not betrayed into the Turk's hands, he must be in possession of the castle very shortly.

As there is an opportunity for this letter to be conveyed to Leghorn, I shall not keep it so long as I intended; but I will write to you again on our way from hence.

At Sea, September 1, 1793.

I begin this letter on board the Iris frigate, where the attentions paid to our comforts and

feelings would appear exaggerated were I to describe them. We have had the singular good fortune to find one of those superior characters in the commodore, Captain Lumsdale, who commands it, that are but seldom met with, and cannot be delineated with justice.

Before we quitted Tripoli, the Shaik, who ventured to come and take leave of us, informed us that the Bashaw, the Bey, and Sidy Useph were all at the Bashaw's garden; that the Arabs and the Moors of the country had made a compact with them, to keep the Turk so totally deprived of resources from the Messeah, as to oblige him to give up the town through fear of famine. We were very glad to learn from the Shaik, that the late Chiah, Hadgi Murat, the husband of Lilla Uducia, the Bashaw's eldest daughter, had escaped from the Turk the same night the Bashaw left the castle; notwithstanding a plot had been laid by the Turk to take him, and for the failure of which one of the usurper's own officers has been imprisoned some days, and is destined to suffer. This officer was dispatched on shore with a message to Hadgi Murat, the first evening the Turkish fleet anchored in the bay of Tripoli. The Turk not seeing the Chiah come on board among those of the Ba-

shaw's officers whom he had sent for, ordered this officer to go immediately to Hadgi Murat, and offer him the choice of any post he would name, which should be given to him the moment of his landing; but the officer was ordered by Ali Ben Zool not to return on board without the Chiah. Hadgi Murat, fearing he might alarm the Turkish officer by his refusal, and by that means find himself in the power of the Turk, feigned an approbation of the offer made him, and left the officer with the apparent intention of joining him again instantly; but wrapping himself up in a baracan, and profiting by the confusion of that evening, he immediately walked out of his house to the Messeah, and by that means saved himself. The Shaik, who was never in the Bashaw's interest, insisted that the firman the Turk brought with him was from the Grand Signior; but he could not help acknowledging his fears that the town would not resist long for want of supplies, as not the smallest article could be had from the Messeah without the concurrence of Sidy Useph's people, and at their price. As we had at this time Moorish friends within and without the gates of the town, they availed themselves of the short intervals of the cessation of arms, to procure us every thing they could for our departure.

We embarked from Tripoli on the 23d of August. All the consuls, except the French, accompanied us to the frigate, which lay nearly two miles from the mole, in their boats; where they could remain but a short time, as we sailed immediately.

We embarked on the Moor's sabbath (Friday). The Marine gate was shut for prayers, and we were obliged to descend the private stairs of the golphor, or pavilion, where the Rais of the Marine sits. This we did at the risk of breaking our necks, as the stairs are dark and out of repair. A short month since, we should have passed through the Rais's golphor, accompanied to our boats by the Rais himself. But the time is past for Christians to expect civilities in Tripoli; and not to ask a favour of the Turks, which they might have refused, it was thought best for us to pass this way.

A few days has worked a total change at the Marine, or quay. There is a part of it where the remains of an old fortress affords a cooling shade, when the sun is sinking in the west, and by that means presents the conveniency of taking the air there for some time previous to the Marine gates being shut before sunset, a perfect

luxury during the summer months. This place, which used to serve as a sort of mall for the Moors of distinction to walk in at evening, and enjoy the cool breezes of the sea, and where we have spent many a placid hour, was now crowded with Turks, who could hardly stand under the weight of their arms, with countenances full of suspicion.

Fearful of seeing some Moor or Jew ill treated by them, we hastened to the place where the boats waited to convey us to the frigate.

Until the day in which we embarked, new scenes of horror and danger to individuals continually occurred, and if the greatest judgment and constant precautions are not observed by the consuls, to prevent even the satellites of Ali Ben Zool from taking the least liberty with the lowest of those subjects dependent on the consular houses, this uncivilized tyrant will soon lay his fatal hand on the protected, as well as the unprotected. It required the greatest circumspection and moderation, on the part of the Christians, to exact for themselves respect from the Turks, and to protect the Christian servants from insult and depredation, in the short dis-

tance we had to pass through the town. A Turkish guard escorted us to the seaside; but the dread of their wantonly striking with their knives, which they carried in their hands drawn, some poor straggling wretch that might chance to come in our way, rendered our situation perfectly painful, till they were dismissed on our reaching the boats.

The evening before we embarked, Gomarti, a Moor of rank, who had been a traitor to the Bashaw, and very assiduous in assisting the Turk in getting into Tripoli, had the honour of being appointed by him ambassador to Constantinople. Gomarti was highly pleased with the consequence of this embassy, and had prepared to set off in the grandest style he possibly could, while in his demands he was flattered with every indulgence from the Turk. But Ali Ben Zool not daring to trust this emissary to Constantinople, with a full account to the Porte of all he had witnessed at Tripoli, determined, as soon as he was embarked and safe on board, to send off an order for his death; and Gomarti no sooner entered the cabin, than two blacks from the castle seized and strangled him. Thus did he pay for his treachery to his country.

The morning we left Tripoli, it was expected Sidy Useph would hazard another attempt to enter the town. The Bashaw had set off with a caravan for Tunis : and his being able to pass unmolested by the Arabs, is another instance of the honour and hospitality of those people. Even the Arab Shaiks, who had acted in opposition to him, and complained of grievances he had not redressed, have agreed to protect him, and restrain the numerous hordes that might molest him in his way ; giving for a reason, that the Bashaw has put himself in their hands, and that his present state is a striking instance of oppression, besieged by his own son, and driven from his kingdom by an usurper.

The sovereignty of the Arabs is most formidable. They may be truly said, not only to extend their sceptre over one of the four principal parts of the world, but to extend with success their dominion from Africa far into Asia ; remaining every where in powerful hordes sufficiently numerous to prevent the intercourse of nations, without their special leave. Inured to the hardships of the deserts, they easily undergo there such as none but themselves can resist : priding themselves on the purity of their blood, untainted, as they say, by a mixture with that of any

other race, and boasting of their ancestry as Arabians. The Arab Shaiks support and keep up an alliance with each other, from the extremity of Africa on the farthest shores of the Atlantic Ocean, through nearly the extent of Asia.

In the deep recesses of the mountains the Arabs have their dwellings and retreats, which are defended by fortresses of craggy rocks and frightful precipices, rendered inaccessible by nature. The whole of the extensive mountains of Atlas are occupied by them, and in the same manner they inhabit the different chains of mountains in almost every direction throughout two quarters of the globe. While they are dispersed in such powerful bodies, so hardy and savage in their manner of living and possessed of policy and strong judgment, it is no wonder they remain what they stile themselves, masters of nearly all the deserts in Africa and Asia, to the present day. The Bashaws in Egypt, and those in Asia, hold their sovereignty from the Grand Signior, merely to keep the Arabs in temper, by paying them an immense revenue to buy their protection for the different caravans that could not otherwise pass unmolested to Mecca, and other parts of Asia and Africa.

Mahon, Nov. 20, 1793.

I have detained this letter some time longer than I intended, as we expected daily the letters that have just reached us from our friends at Tripoli, and I was much interested to give you the latest accounts in my power of that unfortunate place, as this is probably the last time I shall write to you on the subject, hoping very soon to join you.

By our friends we learn, that from the day we embarked the Turkish usurper's reign increased in devastation and horror; and in his persecution of the royal family, against whom he was more inveterate after the beautiful Zenobia had (assisted by the Moors) found means of escaping to her mother.

Some weeks after our departure from Tripoli, Ali Ben Zool took from the ladies of the Bashaw's family, who were in his power, their jewels, clothes, and every thing they had; he then put them on board a small French vessel, with one hundred and fifty other persons, and obliged them to put to sea without provisions for the coast of Tunis; and had not the Christian cap-

tains, in the harbour of Tripoli, supplied them with water and biscuit, they must have perished.

Sidy Useph has been betrayed by the Shaik of Tripoli, for a large sum of money the latter received from the Turk. On this account, he and the Bey retreated from before the gates of Tripoli over the deserts to Tunis,* to join with their father in endeavouring to engage the court of Tunis in their interest.

The Grand Signior, in consequence of the outrages the Turk is committing in Tripoli, and his having acted without his sanction, has declared, that the Barbary powers have his leave to make war against him. The brother of Ali Ben Zool (Michael Aga), who was with the

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* It is much to be regretted that we have no correct maps either of the interior or coast of Africa, particularly Barbary: that prefixed to Dr. Shaw's work is replete with errors. The Italian geographers have lately attempted a map of Tunis; but, on examination, I have found it as defective as any of our own productions. Upon the coast of Caramania there is a ship of war employed at this moment, but a variety of causes have retarded the exertions of Captain Beaufort, an officer of great abilities, who was nominated to perform that service.

Blaquiere's Letters, vol. ii. p. 137.

Grand Signior's fleet at Algiers, has also been disgraced. Tunis is preparing to send to Tripoli ten thousand men against the Turk, headed by the Tripolitan princes (the Bey and Sidy Useph). The Bey of Tunis has shewn great friendship to the Bashaw in his present misfortunes; he has not only received him and the princes, but has invited as many more of the Bashaw's family as could get away from Tripoli, to take shelter in his dominions; he also allows a sufficient establishment for the Bashaw, the Bey, and Sidy Useph, during their residence at his court, with leave to remain there till their kingdom can be recovered.

The forebodings of the excellent Lilla Halluma, which she expressed to us when we parted with her, were but too true. Concealed in the same remote quarter of the town where she remained screened from the ruffian hand of the Turk, this unfortunate sovereign fell a sacrifice to her sorrows a few days after we embarked. She died surrounded only by the blacks she had given freedom to, and two of her own family, Lilla Aisher, and her fair grand-daughter Lilla Zenobia, who, as I mentioned in my last, had so recently escaped from the castle.

Lilla Uducia, the eldest daughter of Lilla Halluma, seems destined to share as heavy a portion of affliction as her mother, with the additional misfortune of beginning to taste them earlier in life. I informed you in my last that her husband, Hadgi Murat (the late Chiah), succeeded in escaping from the Turk's hands the first night the latter arrived in Tripoli. Lilla Uducia has a large family by the Chiah, and though, according to the customs of the country, she was obliged to marry a renegado, yet, contrary to most Moorish princesses, she, by indulging, studying, and polishing the Chiah, has lived many years happily with him. Lilla Uducia had not been long in the Messeah with her husband and all her children, safe from the hands of the Turk, and had just escaped being sent with the rest of her sisters to Tunis in the French vessel without provisions, before Hadgi Murat was summoned to defend his sovereign, the father of his princess. In any other case he would have fled with his family to Tunis, but in this he could not refuse; and, in the last battle fought in the Bashaw's cause against the usurper, Hadgi Murat fell a sacrifice to the Turkish arms before the gates of Tripoli, where he had not (as the Moors said) quitted his post that day from the adan to sunset. Lilla Uducia had

been, during the whole time, watching the engagement from Hadgi Murat's golphor, whence her blacks departed and returned every half hour to bring her accounts of the success of the day. Anxiously waiting for the next arrival of her blacks, an uncommon outcry through the whole Messeah announced to the foreboding heart of Lilla Uducia the fate of her husband. The death song of "*wulliah woo,*" (sung for no one now but the chiefs) proved it was Hadgi Murat that was slain. While it resounded through the country, accumulating voices re-echoed the cries as they drew near the residence of Lilla Uducia, who, in addition to her afflictions for the loss of Hadgi Murat, was in agonies at the thought of not recovering his remains. Both Moors and Arabs fought over the body a long while, and having prevented its being mangled by the Turks, they at last carried it off to the unfortunate Lilla Uducia, who had it buried in her own garden.

The savage Turk, soon after we left Tripoli, burnt the agents belonging to the English and Dutch consuls, who were both Jews, by a slow fire, and seized the English Kitchen-Moor, whom he hung with twenty-one persons at the

same time,—accused of being concerned in a conspiracy against him.

A respectable merchant, named Serroar, one of the chief of the Jews whom we had known for many years, had been imprisoned on the same pretence, with an enormous chain about his neck and legs, under the weight of which he was near expiring, and has only escaped with life for the present, by paying fifty thousand sequins (twenty-five thousand pounds sterling). Another Jew, equally respectable, named Abraham, paid forty thousand sequins to save his two sons; but before this unhappy man had quitted the castle his sons were executed!

In addition to the enormities I have mentioned, among the many this tyrant has committed, was the following. After the English consul's agent had been burnt, the Turk gave his widow, late a beautiful young bride, and who had not been married to him a month before we left Tripoli, overwhelmed with her sorrow, to one of his Arnauts, who are more savage than even the Turks themselves. These ruffians come from the countries between the Caspian and the Euxine Seas, and resemble in person, as well as in disposition, their neighbours the

wild Usbec-Tartars, who are as much surpassed in civilization by the Kalmuc-Tartars, as these Arnauts are by the lowest order of the Turks. Many suppose the Arnauts to be the same race of people as the Argonauts that Jason led to Colchis (Mingrelia) for the Golden Fleece. The Arnauts in religion are Mahometans; in disposition they are ferocious, sanguinary, and arrogant. From their course of life they are known by the name of Turkish banditti, and are employed by the Turks on board their corsairs, in which they commit shocking piracies. They are low in stature, very large boned and broad in their make, though thin; they have very prominent features, with fierce black eyes, which are small and round, and they have a very dark sallow complexion.

Of this cast was the Arnaut, who received from the cruel hand of the Turk the widow of the English consul's agent. Her distracted father, some weeks after this atrocious action, amassed one thousand dollars (five hundred pounds) to purchase back from the Arnaut his unfortunate child, and by this means redeemed her from slavery, in which she must otherwise have remained for the rest of her days.

The Tripolitans, who daily expect the Bashaw and the princes back, supported by the Tunisians, do not at all accustom themselves to the tyranny of the Turk, but oppose him whenever they dare.

The enormous crimes ofthe Turk will evidently effectually prevent his return to Constantinople, and it is hoped he will be seized and carried to the Porte, before he can save his head in Egypt: the usual place where proscribed Turks take refuge.

His expulsion and the return of the Bashaw's line, may restore Tripoli to its former state of respectability, it having for a long series of years ranked as the first kingdom of the Barbary states; for Algiers continues a piratical state to the present day, and Tunis is but little better.

But should Sidy Useph persist in depriving a second brother of his right to the regal dignity, which there is great reason to apprehend from the sanguinary measures he has adopted hitherto, wretched may be the statelof Tripoli; for many traits in Sidy Useph's character seem to have been drawn from the tyrant Muly Yesied, the

late Emperor of Morocco, who was too much the companion of his youth.

Tripoli, under Ali Bahaw, has experienced for upwards of thirty years a mild government, perhaps too mild for the interest of its subjects. The country was visited by the heavy calamities of plague, famine, and war, unfortunately for us, during the greatest part of the ten years we lived there; but no tyranny of the Bashaw made up a share of its misfortunes. Moorish families slept unmolested in the open air on their terraces, and waked to peace in the morning; while the Christians, to whom the highest respect was paid by the Moors on all occasions, lived happy with the natives, and safer here than in any other part of Barbary, till Sidy Useph, by rebelling against his father and brother, tore the country with intestine broils, and laid it open to a series of troubles, which have long rendered it the theatre of murder and desolation; and it is not easy at present to conjecture when its tragedies will end.

Gibraltar, April 30, 1795.

Since you must have had my letters with the journal of Tripoli, we have received in addition

to them later accounts respecting that place, and I send them, as they may serve as an appendix to the rest.

A packet of letters reached us yesterday from Tripoli from an intimate friend, with whom Ali Bashaw has held a correspondence in Moorish, ever since he has been at Tunis.

These letters inform us, that the two princes, the Bey and Sidy Useph, have returned to Tripoli with forces from Tunis, and have driven the Turk away. The latter retreated by sea with all his people and ships, and it is thought he is gone to Alexandria, but not before having despoiled almost all the inhabitants of the town of Tripoli of their property, and putting to death numbers of them in the most cruel manner.

By the decrees of the Grand Signior, the Bey of Tunis and Ali Bashaw, the Bey of Tripoli and Sidy Useph, were jointly to share the throne of Tripoli; but soon after the two princes had cleared Tripoli of the Turks, Sidy Useph executed one of his schemes against the Bey, which has completely shut him out at present from regal power; and this was accomplished in the following singular manner.

The Bey, warned by his friends or by his own apprehensions, had for a long time since his return to Tripoli, avoided quitting the town but in company with Sidy Useph, from the fear of the latter acting inimically to his interest while absent, or preventing his entering the town again on his return. But the two princes being out in the Messéah together, Sidy Useph on a dispute with his brother left him, reached the gates of the town some minutes before him, and without further ceremony closed them against the Bey; he then ordered him from the walls to retire to Derner, of which, he said, he permitted him to be Bey; adding, that on his refusal, he should be sacrificed before the walls of Tripoli. The Bey having no other resource, turned about with the few people he had with him and went to Derner, of which place he is the Bey; leaving his brother, Sidy Useph, quietly seated on the throne, as Bashaw of Tripoli.

A disposition in the present Bey to give up his kingdom quietly, seems to promise him a happier life in this retreat than he has before experienced: while he need not envy Sidy Useph the throne, accompanied as it must be by dreadful reflections. Every object around must daily and hourly remind him of the late

Bey's murder, perpetrated in the same room in which he himself first drew breath, and which room still remains shut up in testimony of the dreadful scene performed within it.

Fortunately for the fair Selima, whose story you can refer to,* a few weeks previous to the Turks arrival in Tripoli, her husband, Sidy Mahmoud, went to Sweden, from whence he has now returned, escaping by his absence falling a victim among the numbers destroyed by the invader's cruelties. But Sidy Mahmoud, when he returned from Sweden, had nearly as much affliction to encounter on the beauteous Selima's account, as he had after his embassy from Naples, when he thought he had lost her by his own neglect.

When the last battle was fought between the Turks and the Moors, before the princes of Tripoli fled to Tunis, the contest of that day was expected to end in favour of the Turks. The frighted Selima, with two infants, fled from the Messeah to seek a safer retreat, and was conducted to the mountains by an Arab chief, of the tribe of the Benoleeds, who promised to

* See letter, December 20, 1792.

protect her till he could put her safely into the hands of her lord, whom she had scarcely the hope of meeting again. Selima had no doubt of the chief's power, and the strength of his Arabs to shield her from the hand of the enemy; but her courage forsook her at the thought of the state of Tripoli, where the Turk's tyranny precluded the approach of any Moor of distinction, but at the imminent hazard of his life. Among the defiles of the mountains, the afflicted Selima and her two little boys, her only solace, passed the tedious days, waiting for Sidy Mahmoud's arrival, during a long twelvemonth. The circumstance of her retreat prevented her meeting with Sidy Mahmoud on his immediate return, as it was necessary for himself to fetch her from the Arab, who so generously guarded her with all her property, during an interval of time so full of danger.

The Bashaw is not expected to live to return to Tripoli;* he is very ill at his country residence

* The present state of the regency of Tripoli, and the character of the reigning Bashaw, his family, and ministers, are ably delineated in Blaquiere's Letters from the Mediterranean; which point out the true line of policy that this country ought to pursue, in its treatment of the piratical states of Barbary.

in the suburbs of Tunis, where he has lost by the plague, which has visited that country lately, a favourite eunuch, named Muzzouk, who had been with him many years in Tripoli. They say the Bashaw never held up his head after he heard of the death of his unfortunate Queen, Lilla Halluma.

I am sorry for Sidy Useph and the Tripolitans, that the former remains sovereign of Tripoli, as I fear it will but aggravate his crimes, and add to the distresses of the country.

I have subjoined to this, for your information, a few Moorish words with their meanings, but I believe I have inserted none in my letters without explaining them.

APPENDIX.

Moorish Words.	*Translation.*
Ash harlic / *Asslam*	How do you do?
Asselmic	Peace be with you.
Salem alicum	Be there peace between us.
Alicum salem	There is peace between us.
Arrosa	Bride.
Wield	Son.
Ben	Son.
Benitee	An endearing name for child or friend.
Ragil	A man.
Merte'	Wife. *Merte el Chiaia*, the Chiaia's wife
Shittan	An evil spirit.
Mahboul	Mad.
Ursul	The only one.
Allah	God. *Allah, Allah, ursul el Allah*, God is God, Mahomet is his only Prophet.*
Halloo	Sweet.
Hallooza	A sweetmeat made of almonds and honey boiled to a thick paste.
Cobah	Cupola.

* These words are sung before the dead as they are carried to the grave, and they constitute all that is necessary to be said by an apostate, when he embraces the Mahometan faith.

Moorish Words.	*Translation.*
Cobah	The morning star.
*Gibel**	Mountain.
Gibeleene	Mountaineer.
Uras	Head.
Uras el Bashaw	By the Bashaw's head.
Uras enti	By your head.
Feizár	Quickly.
Holsa	Bread
Traia	Bring
Housh	House
Ciel	Into

Traia holsa fiel housh el Hamet. Bring bread to the house of Hamet.

Liet	Milk.
Mille	Salt
Harda	This
Mush	Not, none, or, nothing.

Harda mush mille. This man has no wit, or no salt in him.

Matamash	There is none. It is not here.
Empshie	Go.
Empshad	Gone.
Barsh el Mar	The coast or sea-side.
Hardi	Here it is.
Toma	Take it.
Ween	Where is it?
Ash nu harda	What is this? What is the matter?
Aga	Captain in the army.
Rais	Captain in the navy.
Sclicta aga	Sword-bearer.
Chasnedar	Treasurer.
Chassne	Private treasury.

† *Gibraltar* derives its name from Gibel-Tor, the Mountain of Tor, a chief of that name.

Moorish Words.	*Translation.*
Mavelivi, *Chedri*, *Seyah*, *Bickteshu*	The names of four different communities of Shriefs belonging to Mecca.
Srief	A churchman of an order belonging to Mecca.
Gazell	Divine love.
*Esma**	One of the thousand and one names the Turks give the Deity.
Gatuss	Cat.
Eyen-gatuss	Cat's eyes (a green plum).
Toro	Bull.
Eyen toro	Bull's eyes (a bloom plum).
Gazzel	Antelopes, or the African deer.
Eyen gazzel	Gazzel's eyes (a large dark plum).
Zein	Handsome, beautiful.
Shair	Justice. *Shair Allah,* justice in the name of God.†
Toba	Forgiven.
Tobah Allah	Forgiveness, God.
Allah barick	God prosper you.
Hadgi	One who has been to Mecca. No Mussulman is a Hadgi till he has performed a pilgrimage to Mecca.
Kebbier	Great, grand.

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* Gazell-Esma, is a salutation given by one of the above order when they meet a fellow Shrief, an Imam, or a Marabut, but used to no other Mussulman.

† The Moors vociferate these words when they appeal to the Bashaw to redress their wrongs.

Moorish Words.	*Translation.*
Kebbierra	Greatest, grandest, as Lilla Kebbierra, Queen of Tripoli.
Corali	Turk.
Coralis	Turks.
Seid	Lion.
Kief	So. *Kief kief*, so so.
La	No.
Ay	Yes.
Fisby	Charity. *Fisby ye Lilla*, charity, ye lady.
Arrah.....	This minute.
Hada hower	Presently, by and by.
Yassa.....	Enough.
Hada yassa	That's enough.
Sahabti	Dear friend.

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